

7

165981

no slight cause,) that they were called his peers, or equals. This, however, may stand immovable, so long as man hath to deal with no better than man; that if our law judge all men to the lowest by their peers, it should, in all equity, ascend also, and judge the highest.

And so much I find both in our own and foreign story, that dukes, earls, and marquisses were at first not hereditary, not empty and vain titles, but names of trust and office, and with the office ceasing; as induces me to be of opinion, that every worthy man in parliament, (for the word baron imports no more,) might for the public good be thought a fit peer and judge of the king, without regard had to petty caveats and circumstances, the chief impediment in high affairs, and ever stood upon most by circumstantial men. Whence doubtless our ancestors who were not ignorant with what rights either nature or ancient constitution had endowed them, when oaths both at coronation and renewed in parliament would not serve, thought it no way illegal, to depose and put to death their tyrannous kings. Insomuch that the parliament drew up a charge against Richard the Second, and the commons requested to have judgment decreed against him, that the realm might not be endangered. And Peter Martyr, a divine of foremost rank, on the third of Judges approves their doings. Sir Thomas Smith also, a protestant, and a statesman, in his Commonwealth of England, putting the question, "whether it be lawful to rise against a tyrant;" answers, "that the vulgar judge of it according to the event, and the learned according to the purpose of them that do it."

But far before those days, Gildas, the most ancient of all our historians, speaking of those times wherein the Roman empire decaying, quitted and relinquished what right they had by conquest to this island, and resigned it all into the people's hands, testifies that the people thus reinvested with their own original right, about the year 446, both elected them kings, whom they thought best, (the first Christian British kings that ever reigned here since the Romans,) and by the same right, when they apprehended cause, usually deposed and put them to death. This is the most fundamental and ancient tenure that any king of England can produce or pretend to; in comparison of which, all other titles and pleas are but of yesterday. If any object, that Gildas condemns

earnestly exhort ye that you would persevere in your goodwill and affection towards us. And this we do with so much the greater vehemence, as being informed, that the same exiles of ours, concerning whom we have so frequently written, now carry themselves more insolently in your city than they were wont to do, and that they not only openly affront, but give out threatening language in a most despiteful manner against our resident. Therefore once more by these our letters we would have the safety of his person, and the honour due to his quality, recommended to your care. On the other side, if you inflict severe and timely punishment upon those fugitives and ruffians, as well the old ones as the new-comers, it will be most acceptable to us, and becoming your authority and prudence.

Westminster, May 31, 1650.

To PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN.

To our infinite sorrow we are given to understand, that Anthony Ascham, by us lately sent our agent to your majesty, and under that character most civilly and publicly received by your governors, upon his first coming to your royal city, naked of all defence and guard, was most bloodily murdered in a certain inn, together with John Baptista de Ripa, his interpreter, butchered at the same time. Wherefore we most earnestly request your majesty, that deserved punishment may be speedily inflicted upon those parricides, already apprehended, as it is reported, and committed to custody; who have not only presumed to wound ourselves through his sides, but have also dared to stab, as it were, to the very heart, your faith of word and royal honour. So that we make no question, but what we so ardently desire would nevertheless be done effectually, by a prince of his own accord so just and pious, though nobody required it. As to what remains, we make it our further suit, that the breathless carcass may be delivered to his friends and attendants, to be brought back and interred in his own country, and that such care may be taken for the security of those that remain alive as is but requisite; till having obtained an answer to these letters, if it may be done, they shall return to us the witnesses of your piety and justice.

Westminster, June 28, 1650.

To PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN.

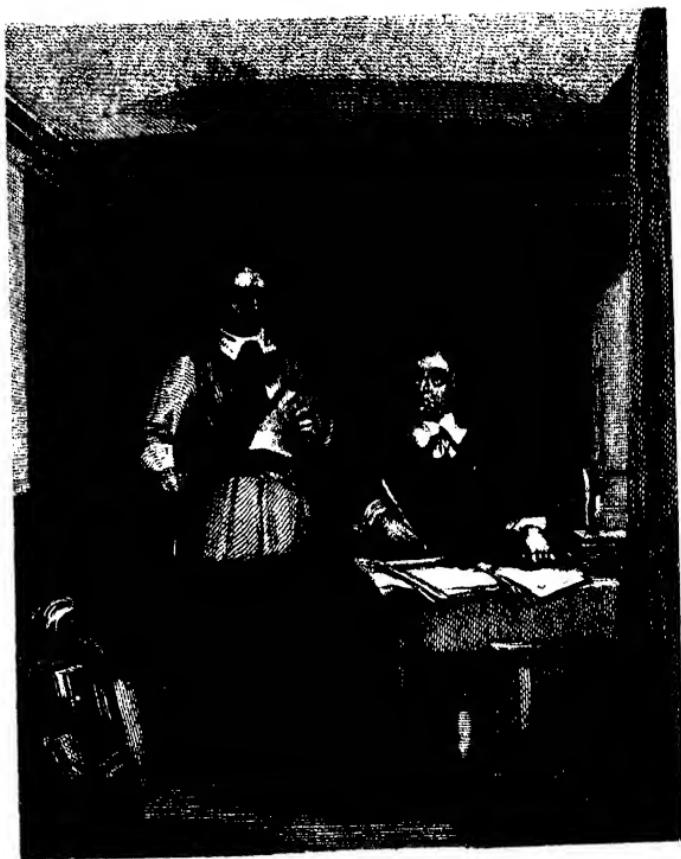
How heinously, and with what detestation, your majesty resented the villainous murder of our agent, Anthony Ascham, and what has hitherto been done in the prosecution and punishment of his assassines, we have been given to understand, as well by your majesty's own letters, as from your ambassador don Alphonso de Cardenos. Nevertheless so often as we consider the horridness of that bloody fact, which utterly subverts the very foundations of correspondence and commerce, and of the privilege of ambassadors, most sacred among all nations, so villainously violated without severity of punishment; we cannot but with utmost importunity repeat our most urgent suit to your majesty, that those parricides may with all the speed imaginable be brought to justice, and that you would not suffer their merited pains to be suspended any longer by any delay or pretence of religion. For though most certainly we highly value the friendship of a potent prince; yet it behoves us to use our utmost endeavours that the authors of such an enormous parricide should receive the deserved reward of their impiety. Indeed, we cannot but with a grateful mind acknowledge that civility, of which by your command our people were not unsensible, as also your surpassing affection for us, which lately your ambassador at large unfolded to us: nor will it be displeasing to us, to return the same good offices to your majesty and the Spanish nation whenever opportunity offers. Nevertheless, if justice be not satisfied without delay, which we still most earnestly request, we see not upon what foundations a sincere and lasting friendship can subsist. For the preservation of which, however, we shall omit no just and laudable occasion; to which purpose we are likewise apt to believe, that the presence of your ambassador does not a little conduce.

To the SPANISH Ambassador.

Most excellent Lord,

THE council of state, so soon as their weighty affairs would permit them, having carried into parliament the four writings, which it pleased your excellency to impart to the council upon the nineteenth of December last, have received in com-





Brennert in conference with Hitler

THE
PROSE WORKS
OF
JOHN MILTON.

VOLUME II.

CONTAINING

THE TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES.
AREOPAGITICA.

TRACTS ON THE COMMONWEALTH.

OBSEVATIONS ON ORMOND'S PEACE. LETTERS OF STATE, &c.

BRIEF NOTES ON DR. GRIFFITH'S SERMON.

OF REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. OF PRELATICAL EPISCOPACY,
THE REASON OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT URGED AGAINST PRELACY
OF TRUE RELIGION, HERESY, SCHISM, TOLERATION.
OF CIVIL POWER IN ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES.

WITH

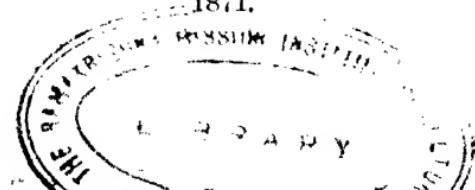
A PREFACE, PRELIMINARY REMARKS, AND NOTES,

BY J. A. ST. JOHN.

L O N D O N :

BELL & DALDY, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1871.



RMIC LIBRARY	
Acc No.	165981
Class No:	828.4
Date	19.6.92
St: Card	Q
Class;	C
Cat:	✓
Bk; Card;	✓
Checked	C.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

	PAGE.
THE TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES : proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all Ages, for any who have the Power, to call to Account a Tyrant, or wicked King, and after due Conviction, to depose, and put him to Death, if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected or denied to do it, &c.	1
AREOPAGITICA : a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Print- ing : to the Parliament of England	48
A LETTER TO A FRIEND CONCERNING THE RUPTURES OF THE COMMONWEALTH	102
THE PRESENT MEANS AND BRIEF DELINEATION OF A FREE COMMONWEALTH, easy to be put in Practice, and without Delay. In a Letter to General Monk	106
THE READY AND EASY WAY TO ESTABLISH A FREE COM- MONWEALTH, and the Excellence thereof, compared with the Inconveniences and Dangers of re-admitting Kingship in this Nation	108
OBSERVATIONS ON THE ARTICLES OF PEACE, between James Earl of Ormond for King Charles the First on the one Hand, and the Irish Rebels and Papists on the other Hand : and on a Letter sent by Ormond to Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin : and a Representation of the Scots Presbytery at Belfast in Ireland. To which the said Articles, Letter, with Colonel Jones's Answer to it, and Representation, &c., are prefixed	139
LETTERS OF STATE to most of the Sovereign Princes and Re- publics of Europe during the Administration of the Com- monwealth and the Protectors Oliver and Richard Crom- well	200
A MANIFESTO OF THE LORD PROTECTOR to the Common- wealth of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. Wherein is shewn the Reasonableness of the Cause of this Republic against the Depredations of the Spaniards	333
BRIEF NOTES UPON A LATE SERMON TITLED THE FEAR OF GOD AND THE KING ; preached and since published by Matthew Griffith, D.D., and Chaplain to the late King. Wherein many notorious Wrestings of Scripture, and other Falsities, are observed	354
OF REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, and the Causes that Hitherto have hindered it. In Two Books. Written to a Friend	363

OF PRELICAL EPISCOPACY , and whether it may be Deduced from the Apostolical Times, by Virtue of those Testimonies which are Alleged to that Purpose in some late Treatises; one whereof goes under the name of James, Archbishop of Armagh	420
THE REASON OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT URGED AGAINST PRELATY. In Two Books	438

BOOK I.

PREFACE	439
CHAP. I. —That Church Government is prescribed in the Gospel; and that to say otherwise is unsound	441
CHAP. II. —That Church Government is set down in Holy Scripture; and that to say otherwise is untrue	445
CHAP. III. —That it is dangerous and unworthy the Gospel, to hold that Church Government is to be patterned by the Law, as Bishop Andrews and the Primate of Armagh maintain	449
CHAP. IV. —That it is impossible to make the Priesthood of Aaron a Pattern whereon to ground Episcopacy	452
CHAP. V. —To the arguments of Bishop Andrews and the Primate	453
CHAP. VI. —That Prelaty was not set up for Prevention of Schism, as is pretended; or if it were, that it performs not what it was first set up for, but quite the contrary	459
CHAP. VII. —That those many Scots and Schisms by some supposed to be among us, and that Rebellion in Ireland, ought not to be a Hinderance, but a Hastening of Reformation	468

BOOK II.

CHAP. I. —That Prelaty opposeth the Reason and End of the Gospel three Ways: and first, in her outward Form	482
CHAP. II. —That the ceremonious Doctrine of Prelaty opposeth the Reason and End of the Gospel	484
CHAP. III. —That prelatical Jurisdiction opposeth the Reason and End of the Gospel and of State	487
THE CONCLUSION. —The Mischief that Prelaty does in the State	501
OF TRUE RELIGION, HERESY, SCHISM, TOLERATION; and what best Means may be used against the Growth of Popery	509
A TREATISE OF CIVIL POWER IN ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES; shewing that it is not lawful for any Power on Earth to compel in Matters of Religion	520

THE TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES¹

PROVING

THAT IT IS LAWFUL, AND HATH BEEN HELD SO THROUGH ALL AGES, FOR ANY, WHO HAVE THE POWER, TO CALL TO ACCOUNT A TYRANT, OR WICKED KING, AND AFTER DUE CONVICTION, TO DEPOSE, AND PUT HIM TO DEATH, IF THE ORDINARY MAGISTRATE HAVE NEGLECTED, OR DENIED TO DO IT. AND THAT THY WHO OF LATE SO MUCH BLAME DEPOSING, ARE THE MEN THAT DID IT THEMSELVES.

EDITOR'S PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

SOON after the march of Fairfax and Cromwell, with the whole army, through the city, in April, 1647, to suppress the insurrection of Brown and Massey, Milton removed to Holborn, where he continued until after the King's death; when, the form of the government being changed to a republic, and the Presbyterians, then out of power, declaring their abhorrence of the Stuart's execution, Milton undertook, in the following treatise, to maintain the right of nations to put a tyrant to death. Wood rightly supposes it was written before the execution of Charles I., though it now contains many passages afterwards inserted;* but Milton himself assures us it was not published until the transaction had taken place; and even then more with a design to compose the public mind, and reconcile to the existing government such as were disaffected, than to determine anything respecting the late king. From a MS. note found in a printed copy in his possession, Dr. Birch discovered that the work was published in the month of February, 1648-49.† It should be remembered that even in his "Defence of the People of England," when there existed no reasons for suppressing or disguising his sentiments, Milton never exhibited any hatred of just and lawful princes; and here, in advocating tyrannicide, takes the greatest care to distinguish between the king and the tyrant. His opinions, in fact, were those of Buchanan, ("De Jure Regni apud Scotos,") from whom Dryden absurdly accuses him of stealing the whole "Defence of the People of England";‡ and upon the Revolution of 1688, Locke maintained, with the approbation of King William III., precisely the same proposition. This the reader should constantly bear in mind, as well as that he wrote in a Commonwealth, at a time when the opinions of most learned men were unfavourable to monarchy.

* In the second edition, in 1650; for his works had then a rapid sale.

† Life of Milton, prefixed to the 4to. edition of the Prose Works, p. xxxii.

‡ Preface to the "Medal," which he entitles "An Epistle to the Whigs."

THE
TENURE OF KINGS AND MAGISTRATES.

IF men within themselves would be governed by reason, and not generally give up their understanding to a double tyranny of custom from without, and blind affections within, they would discern better what it is to favour and uphold the tyrant of a nation. But, being slaves within doors, no wonder that they strive so much to have the public state conformably governed to the inward vicious rule by which they govern themselves. For, indeed, none can love freedom heartily but good men; the rest love not freedom but licence, which never hath more scope or more indulgence than under tyrants. Hence is it that tyrants are not oft offended, nor stand much in doubt of bad men, as being all naturally servile; but in whom virtue and true worth most is eminent, them they fear in earnest, as by right their masters; against them lies all their harted and suspicion. Consequently, neither do bad men hate tyrants, but have been always readiest, with the falsified names of loyalty and obedience, to colour over their base compliances.

And although sometimes for shame, and when it comes to their own grievances, of purse especially, they would seem good patriots and side with the better cause, yet when others for the deliverance of their country endued with fortitude and heroic virtue to fear nothing but the curse written against those "that do the work of the Lord negligently," would go on to remove, not only the calamities and thraldoms of a people, but the roots and causes whence they spring; straight these men, and sure helpers at need, as if they hated only the miseries, but not the mischiefs, after they have juggled and paltered with the world, bandied and borne arms against their king, divested him, disanointed him, nay, cursed him all over in their pulpits,* and their pamphlets, to the engaging of

* Dr. Zachary Gray, the learned, but partial and prejudiced editor of Hudibras, has, with the diligence of one who performs a labour of love, scraped together in his notes everything the paltry literature of the Restoration could supply against the preachers and soldiers of the Commonwealth. He, however, corroborates Milton's charge against the presbyterians, of

sincere and real men beyond what is possible or honest to retreat from, not only turn revolters from those principles, which only could at first move them, but lay the strain of disloyalty, and worse, on those proceedings which are the necessary consequences of their own former actions ; nor disliked by themselves, were they managed to the entire advantages of their own faction ; not considering the while that he toward whom they boasted their new fidelity, counted them accessory ; and by those statutes and laws, which they so impotently brandish against others, would have doomed them to a traitor's death for what they have done already.

It is true, that most men are apt enough to civil wars and commotions as a novelty, and for a flash hot and active ; but through sloth or inconstancy, and weakness of spirit, either fainting ere their own pretences, though never so just, be half attained, or through an inbred falsehood and wickedness, betray, oftentimes to destruction with themselves, men of noblest temper joined with them for causes whereof they in their rash undertakings were not capable. If God and a good cause give them victory, the prosecution whereof for the most part inevitably draws after it the alteration of laws, change of government, downfall of princes with their families ; then comes the task to those worthies which are the soul of that enterprise, to be sweat and laboured out amidst the throng and noses of vulgar and irrational men. Some contesting for privileges, customs, forms, and that old entanglement of

having at the outset preached a crusade against royalty ; but is far from joining with the poet in reprehending their backwardness to "fight it out, *mordicus*, to death." "The presbyterians (many of whom, before the war, had got, he observes, into parish churches) preached the people into rebellion ; incited them to take up arms and fight the Lord's battles, and destroy the Amalekites, root and branch, hip and thigh, and to root out the wicked from the earth ; that was, in their sense, all that loved the king, the bishops, and the common prayer." "It has been fully made out that many of the regicides were drawn into the grand rebellion by the direful imprecations of seditious preachers from the pulpit." Dr. South relates that "he had it from the mouth of Axtell the regicide, that he, with many more, went into that execrable war with such a controlling horror upon their spirits, from those public sermons, especially of Brooks and Calamy, that they verily believed they should have been accursed of God for ever, if they had not acted their part in the dismal tragedy, and heartily done the devil's work."—(*Sermons*, i. 513.) He adds, that "it was the pulpit that supplied the field with swordsmen, and the parliament-house with incendiaries."—ED.

iniquity, their gibberish laws,* though the badge of their ancient slavery. Others, who have been fiercest against their prince, under the notion of a tyrant, and no mean incendiaries of the war against them, when God, out of his providence and high disposal, hath delivered him into the hand of their brethren, on a sudden and in a new garb of allegiance, which their doings have long since cancelled, they plead for him, pity him, extol him, protest against those that talk of bringing him to the trial of justice,† which is the sword of God, superior to all mortal things, in whose hand soever by apparent signs his testified will is to put it.

But certainly, if we consider who and what they are, on a sudden grown so pitiful, we may conclude their pity can be no true and Christian commiseration, but either levity and

* To those who would see a thorough exposure of the absurdity of this "gibberish," we recommend Arthur Symonds's "Mechanics of Law-making," a work of much merit, and little pretensions, which should be the *vade mecum* of members of Parliament, committee-men, and the readers of parliamentary debates.—ED.

† From this passage it is clear that, though the work was not published until after the execution of Charles, it was written previously, to fortify the resolution, perhaps, of the more hesitating and faint-hearted among the tyrannicides who, to keep them steady to their purpose, may have stood in need of being supported by texts of Scripture. Sir Egerton Brydges, an ardent and an enlightened admirer of Milton, is exceedingly scandalized at the doctrine maintained in this treatise: "the very title," he says, "is surely, in the highest degree, objectionable, and does not, *in these days*, require any refutation. To say the truth, this is a part of Milton's character which puzzles me—and no other. This bloodthirstyness does not agree with his sanctity, and other mental and moral qualities," &c. (*Life*, p. 108.) From this it is evident, that in professing not to comprehend this point of the poet's character, he is guilty of no hypocrisy; for most certainly, nothing could be further from Milton's soul than the brutal thirst of blood here attributed to him, which would have brought down his noble nature to a level with the Murats and Robespierres of the past age. On the contrary, it was his horror for blood, his humane impatience at beholding it shed like water, in civil wars, his dread of seeing re-established a tyranny by which the value of man's life was not properly recognised, that caused him to desire the interference of the "sword of God," to restore peace and freedom to these distracted kingdoms. He was in all things an enthusiast. Had the firm establishment of liberty required the sacrifice, we are fully persuaded there were moments in his glorious career in which he who willingly encountered blindness for the Commonwealth would, with equal ardour, have encountered death. It was under the influence of these stern principles that he called for and justified the execution of Charles; not from any fierce or malignant wish to destroy the man who for so many years had wielded the supreme authority in England.—ED.

shallowness of mind or else a carnal admiring of that worldly pomp and greatness from whence they see him fallen ; or rather, lastly, a dissembled and seditious pity, feigned of industry to beget new discord. As for mercy, if it be to a tyrant, under which name they themselves have cited him so oft in the hearing of God, of angels, and the holy church assembled, and there charged him with the spilling of more innocent blood by far then ever Nero did, undoubtedly the mercy which they pretend is the mercy of wicked men ; and "their mercies," we read, "are cruelties;" hazarding the welfare of a whole nation, to have saved one whom they so oft have termed Ageg, and vilifying the blood of many Jonathans who have saved Israel ; insisting with much niceness on the unneccessairest clause of their covenant wrested, wherein the fear of change and the absurd contradiction of a flattering hostility had hampered them, but not scrupling to give away for compliments, to an implacable revenge, the heads of many thousand Christians more.

Another sort there is, who coming in the course of these affairs to have their share in great actions above the form of law or custom, at least to give their voice and approbation, begin to swerve and almost shiver at the majesty and grandeur of some noble deed, as if they were newly entered into a great sin ; disputing precedents, forms, and circumstances, when the commonwealth nigh perishes for want of deeds in substance, done with just and faithful expedition. To these I wish better instruction, and virtue equal to their calling ; the former of which, that is to say, instruction, I shall endeavour, as my duty is, to bestow on them ; and exhort them not to startle from the just and pious resolution of adhering, with all their strength and assistance, to the present parliament and army, in the glorious way wherein justice and victory hath set them—the only warrants through all ages, next under immediate revelation, to exercise supreme power—in those proceedings, which hitherto appear equal to what hath been done in any age or nation heretofore justly or magnanimously.

Nor let them be discouraged or deterred by any new apostate scarecrows, who, under shew of giving counsel, send out their barking monitories and mementoes, empty of aught else but the spleen of a frustrated faction. For how

can that pretended counsel be either sound or faithful, when they that give it see not, for madness and vexation of their ends lost, that those statutes and scriptures which both falsely and scandalously they wrest against their friends and associates, would, by sentence of the common adversary, fall first and heaviest upon their own heads?* Neither by mild and tender dispositions be foolishly softened from their duty and preseverance with the unmasculine rhetoric of any puling priest or chaplain, sent as a friendly letter of advice, for fashion's sake in private, and forthwith published by the sender himself, that we may know how much of friend there was in it, to cast an odious envy upon them to whom it was pretended to be sent in charity. Nor let any man be deluded by either the ignorance or the notorious hypocrisy and self-repugnance of our dancing divines, who have the conscience and the boldness to come with scripture in their mouths, glossed and fitted for their turns with a double contradictory sense, transforming the sacred verity of God to an idol with two faces, looking at once two several ways ; and with the same quotations to charge others, which in the same case they made serve to justify themselves. For while the hope to be made classic and provincial lords led them on, while pluralities greased them thick and deep, to the shame and scandal of religion, more then all the sects and heresies they exclaim against ; then to fight against the king's person, and no less a party of his lords and commons, or to put

* On the conduct of the Presbyterians, Dr. Symmons, himself belonging to the movement party in politics, makes the following pertinent remarks : " In the course of this work the presbyterians obtain much of the author's notice ; and their conduct is exposed by him with the severity it deserved. It was difficult indeed to animadvert too strongly upon the inconsistency of men who, after resisting the authority of their sovereign, after making him the aim of their devout execrations from the pulpit and of their artillery in the field, after ' hunting and pursuing him,' to use the author's own words, ' round about the kingdom with fire and sword ; ' after dethroning, seizing, and imprisoning him, now clamoured against the natural result of their own actions ; and, pretending conscience and the covenant, felt extreme tenderness for the inviolability and sacredness of the king's person, which they had endangered by their war, and violated by their chains. It would have been well for them if they had attended to the salutary warning given to them by our author, and, withholding their confidence from men exasperated beyond the just hope of a reconciliation, had forborne to coalesce with the royalists, by whom they were soon to be crushed in one common ruin with their immediate enemies, the independents."—(*Life of Milton*, p. 299—300.)—ED.

force upon both the houses, was good, was lawful, was no resisting of superior powers; they only were powers not to be resisted, who countenanced the good, and punished the evil.

But now that their censorious domineering is not suffered to be universal, truth and conscience to be freed, tithes and pluralities to be no more, though competent allowance provided, and the warm experience of large gifts, and they so good at taking them; yet now to exclude and seize upon impeached members, to bring delinquents without exemption to a fair tribunal by the common national law against murder, is now to be no less than Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. He who but erewhile in the pulpits was a cursed tyrant, an enemy to God and saints, laden with all the innocent blood spilt in three kingdoms, and so to be fought against, is now, though nothing penitent or altered from his first principles, a lawful magistrate, a sovereign lord, the Lord's anointed, not to be touched, though by themselves imprisoned. As if this only were obedience, to preserve the mere useless bulk of his person, and that only in prison, not in the field, not to disobey his commands, deny him his dignity and office, everywhere to resist his power, but where they think it only surviving in their own faction.

But who in particular is a tyrant, cannot be determined in a general discourse, otherwise than by supposition; his particular charge, and the sufficient proof of it, must determine that: which I leave to magistrates, at least to the uprighter sort of them, and of the people, though in number less by many, in whom faction least hath prevailed above the law of nature and right reason, to judge as they find cause. But this I dare own as part of my faith, that if such a one there be, by whose commission whole massacres have been committed on his faithful subjects,* his provinces offered to pawn

* The following are a few of the crimes which Milton, in the "Eikonoklastes," imputes to Charles I. "After the suspected poisoning of his father, not inquired into, but smothered up, and him protected and advanced to the very half of his kingdom, who was accused in parliament to be author of the fact; (with much more evidence than Duke Dudley, that false protector, is accused upon record to have poisoned Edward the Sixth;) after all his rage and persecution, after so many years of cruel war, on his people in three kingdoms! Whence the author of 'Truths Manifest,' a Scotsman, not unacquainted with affairs, positively affirms, 'that there hath been more Christian blood shed by the commission, approbation, and connivance of King Charles and his father, James, in the latter end of their reigns, than in

or alienation, as the hire of those whom he had solicited to come in and destroy whole cities and countries ; be he king, or tyrant, or emperor, the sword of justice is above him ;* in whose hand soever is found sufficient power to avenge the effusion, and so great a deluge of innocent blood. For if all human power to execute, not accidentally but intendedly, the wrath of God upon evil-doers without exception, be of God ; then that power, whether ordinary, or if that fail, extraordinary, so executing that intent of God, is lawful, and not to be resisted. But to unfold more at large this whole question, though with all expedient brevity, I shall here set down, from first beginning, the original, of kings ; how and wherefore exalted to that dignity above their brethren ; and from thence shall prove, that turning to tyranny they may be as lawfully deposed and punished, as they were at first elected : this I shall do by authorities and reasons, not learnt in corners among schisms and heresies, as our doubling divines are ready to calumniate, but fetched out of the midst of choicest and most authentic learning, and no prohibited authors ; nor many heathen, but Mosaical, Christian, orthodoxal, and, which must needs be more convincing to our adversaries, presbyterial.

'No man, who knows aught, can be so stupid to deny, that all men naturally were born free,† being the image and the Ten Roman Persecutions.' Not to speak of those many whippings, pillories, and other corporal inflictions, wherof his reign also, before this war, was not unbloody : some have died in prison under cruel restraint, others in banishment, whose lives were shortened through the rigour of that persecution, wherewith so many years he infested the true church.' " Yet here," in the *Eikon Basiliké*, he asks, "whose innocent blood he hath shed, what widows' or orphans' tears can witness against him?"—(*Eikonoklastes*, §. 9.)—ED.

* What he here alludes to is explained at large in the "*Eikonoklastes*," where he says, "after the beginning of this parliament, whom he saw so resolute and unanimous to relieve the commonwealth, and that the Earl of Strafford was condemned to die, other of his evil counsellors impeached and imprisoned ; to shew there wanted not evil counsel within himself sufficient to begin a war upon his subjects, though no way by them provoked, he sends an agent with letters to the King of Denmark, requiring aid against the parliament : and that aid was coming, when divine Providence, to divert them, sent a sudden torrent of Swedes into the bowels of Denmark." (§. 10. See also §. 12, 13, 18, 21, 22.)—ED.

† But Sir Robert Filmer, who made pretensions to know something, and those who, since his time, have stood up in defence of absolute monarchy

resemblance of God himself, and were, by privilege above all the creatures, born to command, and not to obey: and that they lived so, till from the root of Adam's transgression falling among themselves to do wrong and violence, and foreseeing that such courses must needs tend to the destruction of them all, they agreed by common league to bind each other from mutual injury, and jointly to defend themselves against any that gave disturbance or opposition to such agreement. Hence came cities, towns, and commonwealths.* And because no faith in all was found sufficiently binding, they saw it needful to ordain some authority that might restrain by force and punishment what was violated against peace and common right.

This authority and power of self-defence and preservation being originally and naturally in every one of them, and unitedly in them all; for ease, for order, and lest each man should be his own partial judge, they communicated and derived either to one, whom for the eminence of his wisdom and integrity they chose above the rest, or to more than one, whom they maintain, on the contrary, that "all men are born slaves;" and it must be acknowledged that, in most countries, experience is on their side. Upon this proposition, however, Locke makes himself merry in his first book on Government, observing, that "we must believe them upon their own bare words, when they tell us we are all born slaves, and must continue so, there is no remedy for it: life and thraldom we entered upon together, and can never be quit of the one till we part with the other." Sir Robert Filmer's argument is ingenious. "Adam," he says, "was an absolute monarch, and so are all princes ever since." But, as we are all descended from Adam, we must all be princes, born with the same right to absolute dominion over each other; and it is some obscure perception of this truth, some secret inkling of their indefeasible rights, that urges so many of Adam's children to contend for empire. However, if princes would be content with the measure of authority possessed by Adam, and seek no other subjects than themselves, there would be few inclined to dispute their pretensions.—ED.

* Aristotle, who, in the first book of his *Politics*, has many very ingenious speculations on the origin and progress of society, observes, that "the union of various villages forms at length a city ($\piολις$) or commonwealth, that finished fabric of society reaching, as near as may be, the bound of perfectness, self-sufficient and complete, constituted for safety, and productive of happiness." (c. 2.) And Goguet, a learned and sensible, though, in some things, a prejudiced writer, has traced more laboriously, with the help of our modern voyagers and travellers, the various steps by which man rises from a state of barbarism to the enjoyment of just laws and a free government. (*Origine des Loix*, t. i. p. 14—32.) Plato, in his "Republic and Laws," enters into the question in his usual profound and original way. See also Locke on Government, b. ii. c. 8.—ED.

thought of equal deserving: the first was called a king; the other, magistrates: not to be their lords and masters, (though afterward those names in some places were given voluntarily to such as have been authors of inestimable good to the people,) but to be their deputies and commissioners, to execute, by virtue of their intrusted power, that justice, which else every man by the bond of nature and of covenant must have executed for himself, and for one another. And to him that shall consider well, why among free persons one man by civil right should bear authority and jurisdiction over another, no other end or reason can be imaginable.

These for a while governed well, and with much equity decided all things at their own arbitrement; till the temptation of such a power, left absolute in their hands, perverted them at length to injustice and partiality.* Then did they, who now by trial had found the danger and inconveniences of committing arbitrary power to any, invent laws, either framed or consented to by all, that should confine and limit the authority of whom they chose to govern them: that so man, of whose failing they had proof, might no more rule over them, but law and reason, abstracted as much as might be from personal errors and frailties. "While, as the magistrate was set above the people, so the law was set above the magistrate." When this would not serve, but that the law was either not executed, or misapplied, they were constrained from that time, the only remedy left them, to put conditions and take oaths from all kings and magistrates at their first instalment, to do impartial justice by law: who, upon those terms and no other, received allegiance from the people, that is to say, bond or covenant to obey them in execution of those laws, which they, the people, had themselves made or assented to. And this oftentimes with

* In Media, a country afterwards noted for the completeness of its despotism, the people originally enjoyed a certain degree of freedom. Astyages, it seems, was the first prince who, in that ancient monarchy, perverted his government into a tyranny: for when the elder Cyrus, in his boyhood, signified to his mother, Mandane, a desire to remain in Media, in compliance with her sire's wishes, she was troubled with scruples respecting the notions he would be in danger of imbibing." "Justice," said she to her son, "is not the same thing in Media as in Persia; for here *your grandfather has rendered himself master of everything*, while in Persia justice consists in equality. *Your father obeys the laws, like the other citizens; HE EVEN RECEIVES LAWS FROM THEM*; for not his own will, but the law, is the rule of his actions."—(Cyropaed. i. 3.)—ED.

express warning, that if the king or magistrate proved unfaithful to his trust, the people would be disengaged.* They added also counsellors and parliaments, not to be only at his beck, but, with him or without him, at set times, or at all times, when any danger threatened, to have care of the public safety. Therefore saith Claudio Sesell, a French statesman, “The parliament was set as a bridle to the king ;” which I instance rather, not because our English lawyers have not said the same long before, but because that French monarchy is granted by all to be a far more absolute one than ours. That this and the rest of what hath hitherto been spoken is most true, might be copiously made appear through all stories, heathen and Christian ; even of those nations where kings and emperors have sought means to abolish all ancient memory of the people’s right by their encroachments and usurpations. But I spare long insertions, appealing to the German, French, Italian, Arragonian, English, and not least the Scottish histories : not forgetting this only by the way, that William the Norman, though a conqueror, and not unsworn at his coronation, was compelled a second time to take oath at St. Alban’s ere the people would be brought to yield obedience.

It being thus manifest, that the power of kings and magistrates is nothing else but what is only derivative, transferred, and committed to them in trust from the people to the common good of them all, in whom the power yet remains fundamentally, and cannot be taken from them, without a violation of their natural birthright ; and seeing that from hence Aristotle, and the best of political writers, have defined a king, “him who governs to the good and profit of his people, and not for his own ends ;” it follows from necessary causes, that the titles of sovereign lord, natural lord, and the

* Precisely the same doctrine is maintained by Locke, and is acknowledged ever since 1688, by the constitution of these realms. “ It can never be supposed to be the will of the society, that the legislative should have a power to destroy that which every one designs to secure by entering into society, and for which the people submitted themselves to legislators of their own making. Whenever the legislators endeavour to take away and destroy the property of the people, or to reduce them to slavery under arbitrary power, they put themselves into a state of war with the people, who are thereupon absolved from any further obedience, and are left to the common refuge which God hath provided for all men against force and violence.”—(*Locke on Government*, b. ii. ch. 19.)—Ed.

like, are either arrogancies or flatteries, not admitted by emperors and kings of best note, and disliked by the church both of Jews (Isa. xxvi. 13) and ancient Christians, as appears by Tertullian and others. Although generally the people of Asia, and with them the Jews also,* especially since the time they chose a king against the advice and counsel of God, are noted by wise authors much inclinable to slavery.

Secondly, that to say, as is usual, the king hath as good right to his crown and dignity as any man to his inheritance, is to make the subject no better than the king's slave, his chattel, or his possession that may be bought and sold: and doubtless, if hereditary title were sufficiently inquired, the best foundation of it would be found but either in courtesy or convenience. But suppose it to be of right hereditary, what can be more just and legal, if a subject for certain crimes be to forfeit by law from himself and posterity all his inheritance to the king, than that a king, for crimes proportional, should forfeit all his title and inheritance to the people? Unless the people must be thought created all for him, he not for them, and they all in one body inferior to him single; which were a kind of treason against the dignity of mankind to affirm.†

Thirdly, it follows, that to say kings are accountable to

* In the splendid discourse of Etienne de la Beotie. "De la Servitude Volontaire," this slavish disposition of the Jews is adverted to with singular energy of scorn. "Doubtless," he says, "there is no people upon earth, who, were the choice within their power, whether they would be governed by one man, or by law and reason, would not prefer the latter; unless, indeed, the children of Israel, who, without constraint or necessity, made unto themselves a tyrant; for which reason I never read their history without having my indignation roused, until I almost became inhuman enough to rejoice at the multitude of evils with which their kings overwhelmed them." See the whole discourse appended to "Montaigne's Essais," t. ix. p. 312—389. *Edit. de Coste, London, 1769.—Ed.*

† James I., who, until he of Sans Souci disputed the title with him, was esteemed the Solomon of the North, agreed, on this point, with Milton; for, in his speech to the parliament in 1603, he maintains "that the special and greatest point of difference that is between a rightful king and an usurping tyrant, is this, that whereas the proud and ambitious tyrant doth think his kingdom and people are only ordained for satisfaction of his desires and unreasonable appetites; the righteous and just king doth by the contrary acknowledge himself to be ordained for the procuring of the wealth and property of the people." He makes no allusion indeed to freedom, valuable beyond all "wealth and property;" but the spread of knowledge was then narrow, and few minds were emancipated from the political ignorance of the darker ages.—*Ed.*

none but God, is the overturning of all law and government. For if they may refuse to give account, then all covenants made with them at coronation, all oaths* are in vain, and mere mockeries ; all laws which they swear to keep, made to no purpose : for if the king fear not God, (as how many of them do not,) we hold then our lives and estates by the tenure of his mere grace and mercy, as from a god, not a mortal magistrate ; a position that none but court-parasites or men besotted would maintain ! Aristotle, therefore, whom we commonly allow for one of the best interpreters of nature and morality, writes in the fourth of his *Politics*, chap. x. that “monarchy unaccountable is the worst sort of tyranny, and least of all to be endured by free-born men.”

And surely no Christian prince, not drunk with high mind, and prouder then those pagan Cæsars that deified themselves, would arrogate so unreasonably above human condition, or derogate so basely from a whole nation of men, his brethren, as if for him only subsisting, and to serve his glory, valuing them in comparison of his own brute will and pleasure no more than so many beasts, or vermin under his feet, not to be reasoned with, but to be trod on ; among whom there might be found so many thousand men for wisdom, virtue, nobleness of mind, and all other respects but the fortune of his dignity, far above him. Yet some would persuade us that this absurd opinion was King David’s, because in the 51st Psalm he cries out to God, “Against thee only have I sinned ;” as if David had imagined, that to murder Uriah and adulterate his wife had been no sin against his neighbour, whenas that law of Moses was to the king expressly, (*Deut. xvii.,*) not to think

* The same James, whose speech we have quoted above, again, in 1609, made the following admission in Parliament : “The king binds himself by a double oath, to the observation of the fundamental laws of his kingdom. Tacitly, as by being a king, and so bound to protect as well the people, as the laws of his kingdom, and expressly by his oath at his coronation ; so as every just king, in a settled kingdom, is bound to observe that pacton made to his people, by his laws, in framing his government agreeable thereto.... Therefore a king governing in a settled kingdom, leaves to be a king, and degenerates into a tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his laws.” And again : “All kings that are not tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to bound themselves within the limits of their laws. And they that persuade them the contrary, *are vipers and pests both against them and the commonwealth.*” Here he paints, as if from the life, the advisers and court-parasites that surrounded his unhappy son.—ED.

so highly of himself above his brethren. David, therefore, by those words, could mean no other, than either that the depth of his guiltiness was known to God only, or to so few as had not the will or power to question him, or that the sin against God was greater beyond compare than against Uriah. Whatever his meaning were, any wise man will see, that the pathetical words of a psalm can be no certain decision to a point that hath abundantly more certain rules to go by.

How much more rationally spake the heathen king Demophoön, in a tragedy of Euripides, than these interpreters would put upon king David ! “ I rule not my people by tyranny, as if they were barbarians ; but am myself liable, if I do unjustly, to suffer justly.” Not unlike was the speech of Trajan, the worthy emperor, to one whom he made general of his prætorian forces : “ Take this drawn sword,” saith he, “ to use for me if I reign well ; if not, to use against me.” Thus Dion relates. And not Trajan only, but Theodosius, the younger, a Christian emperor, and one of the best, caused it to be enacted as a rule undeniable and fit to be acknowledged by all kings and emperors, that a prince is bound to the laws ; that on the authority of law the authority of a prince depends, and to the laws ought to submit. Which edict of his remains yet unrepealed in the Code of Justinian, (l. i. tit. 24,) as a sacred constitution to all the succeeding emperors. How can any king in Europe maintain and write himself accountable to none but God, when emperors in their own imperial statutes have written and decreed themselves accountable to law ? And indeed where such account is not feared, he that bids a man reign over him above law, may bid as well a savage beast.

It follows, lastly, that since the king or magistrate holds his authority of the people, both originally and naturally for their good, in the first place, and not his own, then may the people, as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either choose him or reject him, retain him or depose him, though no tyrant, merely by the liberty and right of freeborn men to be governed as seems to them best. This, though it cannot but stand with plain reason, shall be made good also by Scripture : (Deut. xvii. 14:) “ When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations about me.”

These words confirm us that the right of choosing, yea of changing their own government, is by the grant of God himself in the people. And therefore when they desired a king, though then under another form of government, and though their changing displeased him, yet he that was himself their king, and rejected by them, would not be a hinderance to what they intended, further than by persuasion, but that they might do therein as they saw good, (1 Sam. viii.,) only he reserved to himself the nomination of who should reign over them. Neither did that exempt the king, as if he were to God only accountable, though by his especial command anointed. Therefore "David first made a covenant with the elders of Israel, and so was by them anointed king," (2 Sam. v. 3; 1 Chron. xi.) And Jehoiada the priest, making Jehoash king, made a covenant between him and the people, (2 Kings, xi. 17.) Therefore when Roboam, at his coming to the crown, rejected those conditions which the Israelites brought him, hear what they answer him : "What portion have we in David, or inheritance in the son of Jesse ? See to thine own house, David." And for the like conditions not performed, all Israel before that time deposed Samuel ; not for his own default, but for the misgovernment of his sons.

But some will say to both these examples, it was evilly done. I answer, that not the latter, because it was expressly allowed them in the law, to set up a king if they pleased ; and God himself joined with them in the work ; though in some sort it was at that time displeasing to him, in respect of old Samuel, who had governed them uprightly. As Livy praises the Romans, who took occasion from Tarquinius, a wicked prince, to gain their liberty, which to have extorted, saith he, from Numa, or any of the good kings before, had not been seasonable. Nor was it in the former example done unlawfully ; for when Roboam had prepared a huge army to reduce the Israelites, he was forbidden by the prophet : (1 Kings; xii. 24:) "Thus saith the Lord, ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren, for this thing is from me." He calls them their brethren, not rebels, and forbids to be proceeded against them, owning the thing himself, not by single providence, but by approbation, and that not only of the act, as in the former example, but of the fit season

also ; he had not otherwise forbid to molest them. And those grave and wise counsellors, whom Rehoboam first advised with, spake no such things as our old grey-headed flatterers now are wont—stand upon your birthright, scorn to capitulate ; you hold of God, not of them ;—for they knew no such matter, unless conditionally, but gave him politic counsel, as in a civil transaction.

Therefore kingdom and magistracy, whether supreme or subordinate, is called “ a human ordinance,” (1 Pet. ii. 13, &c.,) which we are there taught is the will of God we should submit to, so far as for the punishment of evil-doers, and the encouragement of them that do well. “ Submit,” saith he, “ as free men.” “ But to any civil power, unaccountable, unquestionable, and not to be resisted, no, not in wickedness, and violent actions, how can we submit as free men ? ” “ There is no power but of God,” saith Paul ; (Rom. xiii.;) as much as to say, God put it into man’s heart to find out that way at first for common peace and preservation, approving the exercise thereof ; else it contradicts Peter, who calls the same authority an ordinance of man. It must be also understood of lawful and just power, else we read of great power in the affairs and kingdoms of the world permitted to the devil : for saith he to Christ, (Luke iv. 6,) “ All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them, for it is delivered to me, and to whomsoever I will, I give it : ” neither did he lie, or Christ gainsay what he affirmed ; for in the thirteenth of the Revelation, we read how the dragon gave to the beast his power, his seat, and great authority : which beast so authorized most expound to be the tyrannical powers and kingdoms of the earth. Therefore Saint Paul in the fore-cited chapter tells us, that such magistrates he means, as are not a terror to the good, but to the evil ; such as bear not the sword in vain, but to punish offenders, and to encourage the good.

If such only be mentioned here as powers to be obeyed, and our submission to them only required, then doubtless those powers that do the contrary are no powers ordained of God ; and by consequence no obligation laid upon us to obey or not to resist them. And it may be well observed, that both these apostles, whenever they give this precept, express it in terms not concrete, but abstract, as logicians are wont to speak ;

that is, they mention the ordinance, the power, the authority, before the persons that execute it; and what that power is, lest we should be deceived, they describe exactly. So that if the power be not such, or the person execute not such power, neither the one nor the other is of God, but of the devil, and by consequence to be resisted. From this exposition Chrysostom also, on the same place, dissents not; explaining that these words were not written in behalf of a tyrant. And this is verified by David, himself a king, and likeliest to be author of the Psalm (xciv. 20) which saith, "Shall the throne of infinity have fellowship with thee?" And it were worth the knowing, since kings in these days, and that by Scripture, boast the justness of their title, by holding it immediately of God, yet cannot shew the time when God ever set on the throne them or their forefathers, but only when the people chose them; why by the same reason, since God ascribes as oft to himself the casting down of princes from the throne, it should not be thought as lawful, and as much from God, when none are seen to do it but the people, and that for just causes. For if it needs must be a sin in them to depose, it may as likely be a sin to have elected. And contrary, if the people's act in election be pleaded by a king, as the act of God, and the most just title to enthrone him, why may not the people's act of rejection be as well pleaded by the people as the act of God, and the most just reason to depose him? So that we see the title and just right of reigning or deposing, in reference to God, is found in Scripture to be all one; visible only in the people, and depending merely upon justice and demerit. Thus far hath been considered chiefly the power of kings and magistrates; how it was and is originally the people's, and by them conferred in trust only to be employed to the common peace and benefit; with liberty therefore and right remaining in them, to reassume it to themselves, if by kings or magistrates it be abused; or to dispose of it by any alteration, as they shall judge most conducing to the public good.

We may from hence with more ease and force of argument determine what a tyrant is, and what the people may do against him. A tyrant, whether by wrong or by right coming to the crown, is he who, regarding neither law nor the common good, reigns only for himself and his faction: thus St. Basil, among others, defines him. And because his power is great, his will

boundless and exorbitant, the fulfilling whereof is for the most part accompanied with innumerable wrongs and oppressions of the people, murders, massacres, rapes, adulteries, desolation, and subversion of cities and whole provinces ; look how great a good and happiness a just king is, so great a mischief is a tyrant ; as he the public father of his country, so this the common enemy Against whom what the people lawfully may do, as against a common pest and destroyer of mankind, I suppose no man of clear judgment need go further to be guided than by the very principles of nature in him.

But because it is the vulgar folly of men to desert their own reason, and shutting their eyes, to think they see best with other men's, I shall show, by such examples as ought to have most weight with us, what hath been done in this case heretofore. The Greeks and Romans, as their prime authors witness, held it not only lawful, but a glorious and heroic deed, rewarded publicly with statues and garlands, to kill an infamous tyrant* at any time without trial ; and but reason, that he, who trod down all law, should not be vouchsafed the benefit of law. Insomuch that Seneca, the tragedian, brings in Hercules, the grand suppressor of tyrants, thus speaking :—

“ ————— Victima haud ulla amplior
Potest, magisque opima mactari Jovi
Quam rex iniquus ————— ”

“ ————— There can be slain
No sacrifice to God more acceptable
Than an unjust and wicked king ————— ”

But of these I name no more, lest it be objected they were heathen ; and come to produce another sort of men, that had the knowledge of true religion. Among the Jews this cus-

* All antiquity is unanimous upon this point : “ States,” says Aristotle, “ decree the most illustrious rewards, not to him who catches a thief; but to him who kills a tyrant.” (*Politics*, l. ii. c. 5.) Cicero, speaking of the identity of the just and the useful, introduces the general opinion of the Roman people on tyrannicide ; and the passage is prefaced by the remark, that when a man begins to entertain doubts as to whether a certain act be criminal or not, he frequently comes, in time, to confound honour and baseness. “ What crime can be greater,” says he, “ than killing not merely a man, but a friend ? And yet, is he criminal who kills a tyrant, though he should happen to be his friend ? Populo quidem Romano non videtur, *qui ex omnibus praeclaris factis illud pulcherrimum existimat.*”—*De Officiis*, iii. 4.) See the Valerian Law in Plutarch in *Publicol.* c. xi. *Ἔγραψε γαρ νόμον*, &c.—ED.

tom of tyrant-killing was not unusual. First, Ehud, a man whom God had raised to deliver Israel from Eglon king of Moab, who had conquered and ruled over them eighteen years, being sent to him as an ambassador with a present, slew him in his own house. But he was a foreign prince, an enemy, and Ehud besides had special warrant from God. To the first I answer, it imports not whether foreign or native: for no prince so native but professes to hold by law; which when he himself overturns, breaking all the covenants and oaths that gave title to his dignity, and were the bond and alliance between him and his people, what differs he from an outlandish king, or from an enemy?

For look how much right the king of Spain hath to govern us at all, so much right hath the king of England to govern us tyrannically. If he, though not bound to us by any league, coming from Spain in person to subdue us, or to destroy us, might lawfully by the people of England either be slain in fight, or put to death in captivity, what hath a native king to plead, bound by so many covenants, benefits, and honours, to the welfare of his people; why he through the contempt of all laws and parliaments, the only tie of our obedience to him, for his own will's sake, and a boasted prerogative unaccountable, after seven years' warring and destroying of his best subjects, overcome, and yielded prisoner, should think to scape unquestionable, as a thing divine, in respect of whom so many thousand Christians destroyed should lie unaccounted for, polluting with their slaughtered carcasses all the land over, and crying for vengeance against the living that should have righted them? Who knows not that there is a mutual bond of amity and brotherhood between man and man over all the world, neither is it the English sea that can sever us from that duty and relation: a straiter bond yet there is between fellow-subjects, neighbours, and friends. But when any of these do one to another so as hostility could do no worse, what doth the law decree less against them, than open enemies and invaders? or if the law be not present or too weak, what doth it warrant us to less than single defence or civil war? and from that time forward the law of civil defensive war differs nothing from the law of foreign hostility. Nor is it distance of place that makes enmity, but enmity that makes distance. He, therefore, that keeps peace with me, near or

remote, of whatsoever nation, is to me, as far as all civil and human offices, an Englishman and a neighbour: but if an Englishman, forgetting all laws, human, civil, and religious, offend against life and liberty, to him offended, and to the law in his behalf, though born in the same womb, he is no better than a Turk, a Saracen, a heathen.

This is gospel, and this was ever law among equals; how much rather then in force against any king whatever, who in respect of the people is confessed inferior and not equal: to distinguish, therefore, of a tyrant by outlandish, or domestic, is a weak evasion. To the second, that he was an enemy, I answer, what tyrant is not? yet Eglon by the Jews had been acknowledged as their sovereign, they had served him eighteen years, as long almost as we our William the Conqueror, in all which he could not be so unwise a statesman, but to have taken of them oaths of fealty and allegiance; by which they made themselves his proper subjects, as their homage and present sent by Ehud testified. To the third, that he had special warrant to kill Eglon in that manner, it cannot be granted, because not expressed; it is plain that he was raised by God to be a deliverer, and went on just principles, such as were then and ever held allowable to deal so by a tyrant, that could no otherwise be dealt with.

Neither did Samuel, though a prophet, with his own hand abstain from Agag; a foreign enemy no doubt; but mark the reason: "As thy sword has made women childless;" a cause that by the sentence of law itself nullifies all relations. And as the law is between brother and brother, father and son, master and servant, wherefore not between king, or rather tyrant, and people? And whereas Jehu had special command to slay Jehoram, a successive and hereditary tyrant, it seems not the less imitable for that; for where a thing grounded so much on natural reason hath the addition of a command from God, what does it but establish the lawfulness of such an act? Nor is it likely that God, who had so many ways of punishing the house of Ahab, would have sent a subject against his prince, if the fact in itself, as done to a tyrant, had been of bad example. And if David refused to lift his hand against the Lord's anointed, the matter between them was not tyranny, but private enmity; and David, as a private person, had been his own revenger, not so much the people's:

but when any tyrant at this day can shew himself to be the Lord's anointed, the only mentioned reason why David withheld his hand, he may then, but not till then, presume on the same privilege.

We may pass, therefore, hence to Christian times. And first, our Saviour himself, how much he favoured tyrants, and how much intended they should be found or honoured among Christians, declared his mind not obscurely ; accounting their absolute authority no better than Gentilism, yea, though they flourished it over with the splendid name of benefactors ; charging those that would be his disciples to usurp no such dominion ; but that they, who were to be of most authority among them, should esteem themselves ministers and servants to the public : Matt. xx. 25 : "The princes of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them ;" and Mark x. 42 : "They that seem to rule," saith he, either slighting or accounting them no lawful rulers ; "but ye shall not be so, but the greatest among you shall be your servant." And although he himself were the meekest, and came on earth to be so, yet to a tyrant we hear him not vouchsafe an humble word : but, "Tell that fox," Luke xiii. "So far we ought to be from thinking that Christ and his gospel should be made a sanctuary for tyrants from justice, to whom his law before never gave such protection." And wherefore did his mother, the Virgin Mary, give such praise to God in her prophetic song, that he had now, by the coming of Christ, cut down dynastas, or proud monarchs, from the throne, if the church, when God manifests his power in them to do so, should rather choose all misery and vassalage to serve them, and let them still sit on their potent seats to be adored for doing mischief ?

Surely it is not for nothing that tyrants, by a kind of natural instinct, both hate and fear none more than the true church and saints of God, as the most dangerous enemies and subverters of monarchy, though indeed of tyranny ; hath not this been the perpetual cry of courtiers and court-prelates ? whereof no likelier cause can be alleged, but that they well discerned the mind and principles of most devout and zealous men, and indeed the very discipline of church, tending to the dissolution of all tyranny. No marvel then if since the faith of Christ received, in purer or impurer times, to depose a king and put him to death for tyranny, hath been accounted

so just and requisite, that neighbour kings have both upheld and taken part with subjects in the action. And Ludovicus Pius, himself an emperor, and son of Charles the Great, being made judge (du Haillan is my author) between Milegast, king of the Vultzes, and his subjects, who had deposed him, gave his verdict for the subjects, and for him whom they had chosen in his room. Note here, that the right of electing whom they please is, by the impartial testimony of an emperor, in the people: for, said he, “A just prince ought to be preferred before an unjust, and the end of government before the prerogative.”

And Constantinus Leo, another emperor, in the Byzantine laws, saith, “That the end of a king is for the general good, which he not performing, is but the counterfeit of a king.” And to prove, that some of our own monarchs have acknowledged that their high office exempted them not from punishment, they had the sword of St. Edward borne before them by an officer, who was called earl of the palace, even at the times of their highest pomp and solemnities; to mind them, saith Matthew Paris, the best of our historians, “that if they erred, the sword had power to restrain them.” And what restraint the sword comes to at length, having both edge and point, if any sceptic will doubt, let him feel. It is also affirmed from diligent search made in our ancient books of law, that the peers and barons of England had a legal right to judge the king: * which was the cause most likely, (for it could be

* Of this the reader may see abundant proofs in Sir Ralph Sadleir's “*Rights of the Kingdom*,” published in 1649, 4to. “If it were asked of some late courtiers,” observes this learned writer, “they would say, perhaps, a statute toucheth not the king, except he be expressly named. So would I say also if I could find it declared in ancient parliaments, before the times came to be *so tainted with the king's evil*, which himself would not, or at least did not cure. But my words must not determine it: let us come to the laws themselves, and those that were most likely to know their meaning. One of the chapters of Marlbridge is, that the Great Charter should in all points be duly kept, as well in those things that touched the king himself, as any other; and that writs should be granted freely against any that infringe it. And that this did reach the king before, and not first granted by Henry III., or extracted from him or others by a conquering sword, we may appeal to the Mirror, (written for the most part before the Conquest, if the great judge deceive us not,) which among the Saxon Parliaments, at the first moulding of this kingdom, telleth us it was ordained that the king's courts should be open to all plaints; by which they had original writs without delay, as well against the king or queen, as any other of the people.—c. i. sect. 3.”—(*Rights of the Kingdom*, p. 25, 26.)—ED.

the Britons for so doing the answer is as ready; that he condemns them no more for so doing than he did before for choosing such; for, saith he, “They anointed them kings not of God, but such as were more bloody than the rest.” Next, he condemns them not at all for deposing or putting them to death, but for doing it over hastily, without trial or well examining the cause, and for electing others worse in their room.

Thus we have here both domestic and most ancient examples, that the people of Britain have deposed and put to death their kings in those primitive Christian times. And to couple reason with example, if the church in all ages, primitive, Romish, or protestant, held it ever no less their duty than the power of their keys, though without express warrant of Scripture, to bring indifferently both king and peasant under the utmost rigour of their canons and censures ecclesiastical, even to the smiting him with a final excommunication, if he persist impenitent; what hinders but that the temporal law both may and ought, though without a special text or precedent, extend with like indifference the civil sword, to the cutting off, without exemption, him that capitally offends, seeing that justice and religion are from the same God, and works of justice oft-times more acceptable? Yet because that some lately, with the tongues and arguments of malignant backsliders, have written that the proceedings now in parliament against the king are without precedent from any protestant state or kingdom, the examples which follow shall be all protestant, and chiefly presbyterian.

In the year 1546, the Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Hesse, and the whole protestant league, raised open war against Charles the Fifth, their emperor, sent him a defiance, renounced all faith and allegiance toward him, and debated long in council whether they should give him so much as the title of Cæsar.* Let all men judge what this wanted of deposing or of killing, but the power to do it.

In the year 1559, the Scots protestants claiming promise of their queen-regent for liberty of conscience, she answering that promises were not to be claimed of princes beyond what was commodious for them to grant, told her to her face in the

* Sleidan, l. xvii.

parliament then at Stirling, that if it were so, they renounced their obedience ; and soon after betook them to arms.* Certainly, when allegiance is renounced, that very hour the king or queen is in effect deposed.

In the year 1564, John Knox, a most famous divine, and the reformer of Scotland to the presbyterian discipline, at a general assembly maintained openly, in a dispute against Lethington the secretary of state, that subjects might and ought to execute God's judgments upon their king ; that the fact of Jehu and others against their king, having the ground of God's ordinary command to put such and such offenders to death, was not extraordinary, but to be imitated of all that preferred the honour of God to the affection of flesh and wicked princes ; that kings, if they offend, have no privilege to be exempted from the punishments of law more than any other subject : so that if the king be a murderer, adulterer, or idolater, he should suffer, not as a king, but as an offender ; and this position he repeats again and again before them. Answerable was the opinion of John Craig, another learned divine, and that laws made by the tyranny of princes, or the negligence of people, their posterity might abrogate, and reform all things according to the original institution of commonwealths. And Knox being commanded by the nobility to write to Calvin and other learned men for their judgments in that question, refused, alleging, that both himself was fully resolved in conscience, and had heard their judgments, and had the same opinion under handwriting of many the most godly and most learned that he knew in Europe ; that if he should move the question to them again, what should he do but show his own forgetfulness or inconstancy ? All this is far more largely in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, (l. iv.) with many other passages to this effect all the book over, set out with diligence by Scotsmen of best repute among them at the beginning of these troubles ; as if they laboured to

* Buchanan Hist. l. xvi. The words of this distinguished historian are : "Eodem quoque die, idem fœcialis retulit, pridie illius diei, procerum aliorumque civium frequentissimo consilio persuasum esse, omnia Regentis dicta, facta, consiliaque meram spectare tyrannidem. Igitur decretum factum, de abrogando ei magistratu, cui universi, ut justissimo, subscriperunt ; legationemque, ei à genero et filia datam, inhibuerunt, eamque pro imperio quicquam agere, vetuerunt, usque ad generalem ordinum conventum, ab ipsa, ubi commodum fore, indicendum."—(p. 544, 545, edit. of 1697.)—En.

inform us what we were to do, and what they intended upon the like occasion.

And to let the world know, that the whole church and protestant state of Scotland in those purest times of reformation were of the same belief, three years after, they met in the field Mary their lawful and hereditary queen, took her prisoner, yielding before fight, kept her in prison, and the same year deposed her.*

And four years after that, the Scots, in justification of their deposing Queen Mary, sent ambassadors to Queen Elizabeth, and in a written declaration alleged, that they had used towards her more lenity than she deserved ; that their ancestors had heretofore punished their kings by death or banishment ; that the Scots were a free nation, made king whom they freely chose, and with the same freedom unkinged him if they saw cause, by right of ancient laws and ceremonies yet remaining, and old customs yet among the highlanders in choosing the head of their clans or families ; all which, with many other arguments, bore witness, that regal power was nothing else but a mutual covenant or stipulation between king and people.† These were Scotchmen and presbyterians : but what measure then have they lately offered, to think such liberty less besceming us than themselves, presuming to put him upon us for a master, whom their law scarce allows to be their own equal ? If now then we hear them in another strain than heretofore in the purest times of their church, we may be confident it is the voice of faction speaking in them, not of truth and reformation. Which no less in England than in Scotland, by the mouths of those faithful witnesses commonly called puritans and non-conformists, spake as clearly for the putting down, yea, the utmost punishing of kings, as in their several treatises may be read ; even from the first reign of Elizabeth to these times. Insomuch that one of them,

* Buchan. Hist. l. xviii.

† Buch. Hist. l. xx. And in his dialogue “ De Jure Regni apud Scotos,” a work dedicated to James I., this writer maintains, that when kings degenerate into tyrants they may be justly put to death. “ Ut igitur cum hac multitudine agas,” says he to Maitland, “ si clamosissimum et importunissimum quemque roges, quid supplicio Caligulae, Neronis, aut Domitianus sentiat, neminem eorum tam addictum regio nomini fore puto, ut non jure penas eos luisse fateatur.”—(p. 14.)—ED.

whose name was Gibson, foretold King James he should be rooted out, and conclude his race, if he persisted to uphold bishops. And that very inscription, stamped upon the first coins at his coronation, a naked sword in a hand with these words, "*Si mereor, in me,*" "*Against me, if I deserve,*" not only manifested the judgment of that state, but seemed also to presage the sentence of divine justice in this event upon his son.

In the year 1581, the states of Holland, in a general assembly at the Hague, abjured all obedience and subjection to Philip king of Spain; and in a declaration justify their so doing; for that by his tyrannous government, against faith so many times given and broken, he had lost his right to all the Belgic provinces; that therefore they deposed him, and declared it lawful to choose another in his stead.* From that time to this, no state or kingdom in the world hath equally prospered: but let them remember not to look with an evil and prejudicial eye upon their neighbours, walking by the same rule.

But what need these examples to presbyterians, I mean to those who now of late would seem so much to abhor deposing, wheras they to all Christendom have given the latest and the liveliest example of doing it themselves? I question not the lawfulness of raising war against a tyrant in defence of religion, or civil liberty; for no protestant church, from the first Waldenses of Lyons and Languedoc to this day, but done it round, and maintained it lawful. But this I doubt not to affirm, that the presbyterians, who now so much condemn deposing, were the men themselves that deposed the king, and cannot, with all their shifting and relapsing, wash off the guiltiness from their own hands. For they themselves, by these their late doings, have made it guiltiness, and turned their own warrantable actions into rebellion.+

There is nothing that so actually makes a king of England, as rightful possession and supremacy in all causes both civil and ecclesiastical: and nothing that so actually makes a sub-

* Thuan. l. lxxiv.

+ The presbyterians having taken up arms against the king, and fought with him in the field, had necessarily been often in a position where they might have slain him. If they were now right, therefore, they had then been wrong; and vice versa.—ED.

ject of England as those two oaths of allegiance and supremacy observed without equivocating, or any mental reservation. Out of doubt then, when the king shall command things already constituted in church or state, obedience is the true essence of a subject, either to do, if it be lawful, or if he hold the thing unlawful, to submit to that penalty which the law imposes, so long as he intends to remain a subject. Therefore when the people, or any part of them, shall rise against the king and his authority, executing the law in anything established, civil or ecclesiastical, I do not say it is rebellion, if the thing commanded though established be unlawful, and that they sought first all due means of redress; (and no man is further bound to law;) but I say it is an absolute renouncing both of supremacy and allegiance, which, in one word, is an actual and total deposing of the king, and the setting up of another supreme authority over them.

And whether the presbyterians have not done all this and much more, they will not put me, I suppose, to reckon up a seven years' story, fresh in the memory of all men. Have they not utterly broke the oath of allegiance, rejecting the king's command and authority sent them from any part of the kingdom, whether in things lawful or unlawful? Have they not abjured the oath of supremacy, by setting up the parliament without the king, supreme to all their obedience; and though their vow and covenant bound them in general to the parliament, yet sometimes adhering to the lesser part of lords and commons that remained faithful, as they term it, and even of them, one while to the commons without the lords, another while to the lords without the commons? Have they not still declared their meaning, whatever their oath were, to hold them only for supreme, whom they found at any time most yielding to what they petitioned? Both these oaths, which were the straitest bond of an English subject in reference to the king, being thus broke and made void; it follows undeniably, that the king from that time was by them in fact absolutely deposed, and they no longer in reality to be thought his subjects, notwithstanding their fine clause in the covenant to preserve his person, crown, and dignity, set there by some dodging casuist with more craft than sincerity, to mitigate the matter, in case of ill success and not taken, I suppose, by any honest man, but

as a condition subordinate to every the least particle, that might more concern religion, liberty, or the public peace.

To prove it yet more plainly, that they are the men who have deposed the king, I thus argue. We know, that king and subject are relatives, and relatives have no longer being than in the relation; the relation between king and subject can be no other than regal authority and subjection. Hence I infer, past their defending, that if the subject, who is one relative, take away the relation, of force he takes away also the other relative; but the presbyterians, who were one relative, that is to say, subjects, have for this seven years taken away the relation, that is to say, the king's authority, and their subjection to it; therefore the presbyterians for these seven years have removed and extinguished the other relative, that is to say, the king; or, to speak more in brief, have deposed him; not only by depriving him the execution of his authority, but by conferring it upon others.

If then their oaths of subjection broken, new supremacy obeyed, new oaths and covenant taken, notwithstanding frivolous evasions, have in plain terms unkinged the king, much more than hath their seven years' war, not deposed him only, but outlawed him, and defied him as an alien, a rebel to law, and enemy to the state, it must needs be clear to any man not averse from reason, that hostility and subjection are two direct and positive contraries, and can no more in one subject stand together in respect of the same king, than one person at the same time can be in two remote places. Against whom therefore the subject is in act of hostility, we may be confident, that to him he is in no subjection: and in whom hostility takes place of subjection, for they can by no means consist together, to him the king can be not only no king, but an enemy.

So that from hence we shall not need dispute, whether they have deposed him, or what they have defaulted towards him as no king, but show manifestly how much they have done towards the killing him. Have they not levied all these wars against him, whether offensive or defensive, (for defence in war equally offends, and most prudently beforehand,) and given commission to slay, where they knew his person could not be exempt from danger? And if chance or flight had not saved him, how often had they killed him,

directing their artillery, without blame or prohibition, to the very place where they saw him stand ? Have they not sequestered him, judged or unjudged, and converted his revenue to other uses, detaining from him, as a grand delinquent, all means of livelihood, so that for them long since he might have perished, or have starved ? Have they not hunted and pursued him round about the kingdom with sword and fire ? Have they not formerly denied to treat with him, and their now recanting ministers preached against him, as a reprobate incurable, an enemy to God and his church, marked for destruction, and therefore not to be treated with ? Have they not besieged him, and to their power forbid him water and fire, save what they shot against him to the hazard of his life ? Yet while they thus assaulted and endangered it with hostile deeds, they swore in words to defend it, with his crown and dignity ; not in order, as it seems now, to a firm and lasting peace, or to his repentance after all this blood ; but simply, without regard, without remorse, or any comparable value of all the miseries and calamities suffered by the poor people, or to suffer hereafter, through his obstinacy or impenitence. 165981

No understanding man can be ignorant, that covenants are ever made according to the present state of persons and of things ; and have ever the more general laws of nature and of reason included in them, though not expressed. If I make a voluntary covenant, as with a man to do him good, and he prove afterward a monster to me, I should conceive a disobligement. If I covenant, not to hurt an enemy, in favour of him and forbearance, and hope of his amendment, and he, after that, shall do me tenfold injury and mischief to what he had done when I so covenanted, and still be plotting what may tend to my destruction, I question not but that his after-actions release me ; nor know I covenant so sacred, that withdraws me from demanding justice on him.

Howbeit, had not their distrust in a good cause, and the fast and loose of our prevaricating divines, overswayed, it had been doubtless better not to have inserted in a covenant unnecessary obligations, and words, not works of supererogating allegiance to their enemy ; no way advantageous to themselves, had the king prevailed, as to their cost many would have felt ; but full of snare and distraction to our

friends, useful only, as we now find, to our adversaries, who under such a latitude and shelter of ambiguous interpretation have ever since been plotting and contriving new opportunities to trouble all again. How much better had it been, and more becoming an undaunted virtue, to have declared openly and boldly whom and what power the people were to hold supreme, as on the like occasion protestants have done before, and many conscientious men now in these times have more than once besought the parliament to do, that they might go on upon a sure foundation, and not with a riddling covenant in their mouths, seeming to swear counter, almost in the same breath, allegiance and no allegiance ; which doubtless had drawn off all the minds of sincere men from siding with them, had they not discerned their actions far more deposing him than their words upholding him ; which words, made now the subject of cavillous interpretations, stood ever in the covenant, by judgment of the more discerning sort, an evidence of their fear, not of their fidelity.

What I should return to speak on, of those attempts for which the king himself hath often charged the presbyterians of seeking his life, whenas, in the due estimation of things, they might without a fallacy be said to have done the deed outright ? . Who knows not, that the king is a name of dignity and office, not of person ? Who therefore kills a king, must kill him while he is a king. Then they certainly, who by deposing him have long since taken from him the life of a king, his office and his dignity, they in the truest sense may be said to have killed the king : not only by their deposing and waging war against him, which besides the danger to his personal life, set him in the furthest opposite point from any vital function of a king, but by their holding him in prison, vanquished and yielded into their absolute and despotic power, which brought him to the lowest degradation and incapacity of the regal name. I say not by whose matchless valour, next under God, lest the story of their ingratitude thereupon carry me from the purpose in hand, which is to convince them that they, which I repeat again, were the men who in the truest sense killed the king, not only as is proved before, but by depressing him, their king, far below the rank of a subject to the condition of a captive, without intention to restore him, as the chancellor of Scotland in a speech told him

plainly at Newcastle, unless he granted fully all their demands, which they knew he never meant.

Nor did they treat, or think of treating, with him, till their natred to the army that delivered them, not their love or duty to the king, joined them secretly with men sentenced so oft for reprobates in their own mouths, by whose subtle inspiring they grew mad upon a most tardy and improper treaty. Whereas if the whole bent of their actions had not been against the king himself, but only against his evil counsellors, as they feigned, and published, wherefore did they not restore him all that while to the true life of a king, his office, crown, and dignity, when he was in their power, and they themselves his nearest counsellors? The truth, therefore, is, both that they would not, and that indeed they could not without their own certain destruction, having reduced him to such a final pass, as was the very death and burial of all that in him was regal, and from whence never king of England yet revived, but by the new reinforcement of his own party, which was a kind of resurrection to him.

Thus having quite extinguished all that could be in him of a king, and from a total privation clad him over, like another specifical thing, with forms and habitudes destructive to the former, they left in his person, dead as to law and all the civil right either of king or subject, the life only of a prisoner, a captive, and a malefactor: whom the equal and impartial hand of justice finding, was no more to spare than another ordinary man: not only made obnoxious to the doom of law, by a charge more than once drawn up against him, and his own confession to the first article at Newport, but summoned and arraigned in the sight of God and his people, cursed and devoted to perdition worse than any Ahab, or Antiochus, with exhortation to curse all those in the name of God, that made not war against him, as bitterly as Meroz was to be cursed, that went not out against a Canaanitish king, almost in all the sermons, prayers, and fulminations, that have been uttered this seven years, by those cloven tongues of falsehood and dissension, who now, to the stirring up of new discord, acquit him; and against their own discipline, which they boast to be the throne and sceptre of Christ, absolve him, unconfound him, though unconverted, unrepentant, insensible of all their precious saints and martyrs, whose blood they

have so often laid upon his head. And now again, with a new sovereign anointment, can wash it all off, as if it were as vile, and no more to be reckoned for than the blood of so many dogs in a time of pestilence : giving the most opprobrious lie to all the acted zeal that for these many years hath filled their bellies, and fed them fat upon the foolish people. Ministers of sedition, not of the gospel, who, while they saw it manifestly tend to civil war and bloodshed, never ceased exasperating the people against him ; and now that they see it likely to breed new commotion, cease not to incite others against the people, that have saved them from him, as if sedition were their only aim, whether against him or for him.

But God, as we have cause to trust, will put other thoughts into the people, and turn them from giving ear or heed to these mercenary noisemakers, of whose fury and false prophecies we have enough experience ; and from the murmurs of new discord will incline them to hearken rather with erected minds to the voice of our supreme magistracy, calling us to liberty, and the flourishing deeds of a reformed commonwealth ; with this hope, that as God was heretofore angry with the Jews who rejected him and his form of government to choose a king, so that he will bless us, and be propitious to us, who reject a king to make him only our leader, and supreme governor, in the conformity, as near as may be, of his own ancient government ; if we have at least but so much worth in us to entertain the sense of our future happiness, and the courage to receive what God vouchsafes us ; wherein we have the honour to precede other nations, who are now labouring to be our followers.

For as to this question in hand, what the people by their just right may do in change of government, or of governor, we see it cleared sufficiently besides other ample authority, even from the mouths of princes themselves. And surely they that shall boast, as we do, to be a free nation, and not have in themselves the power to remove or to abolish any governor supreme, or subordinate, with the government itself upon urgent causes, may please their fancy with a ridiculous and painted freedom, fit to cozen babies ; but we are indeed under tyranny and servitude, as wanting that power, which is the root and source of all liberty, to dispose and economize in the land which God hath given them, as masters of family in their own house and free inheritance. Without

which natural and essential power of a free nation, though bearing high their heads, they can in due esteem be thought no better than slaves and vassals born, in the tenure and occupation of another inheriting lord; whose government, though not illegal, or intolerable, hangs over them as a lordly scourge, not as a free government; and therefore to be abrogated.

How much more justly then may they fling off tyranny, or tyrants; who being once deposed can be no more than private men, as subject to the reach of justice and arraignment as any other transgressors? And certainly if men, not to speak of heathen, both wise and religious, have done justice upon tyrants what way they could soonest, how much more mild and humane then is it, to give them fair and open trial; to teach lawless kings, and all who so much adore them, that not mortal man, or his imperious will, but justice, is the only true sovereign and supreme majesty upon earth? Let men cease therefore, out of faction and hypocrisy, to make outcries and horrid things of things so just and honourable. Though perhaps till now, no protestant state or kingdom can be alleged to have openly put to death their king, which lately some have written, and imputed to their great glory; much mistaking the matter. It is not, neither ought to be, the glory of a protestant state never to have put their king to death; it is the glory of a protestant king never to have deserved death. And if the parliament and military council do what they do without precedent, if it appear their duty, it argues the more wisdom, virtue, and magnanimity, that they know themselves able to be a precedent to others; who perhaps in future ages, if they prove not too degenerate, will look up with honour, and aspire towards these exemplary and matchless deeds of their ancestors, as to the highest top of their civil glory and emulation; which heretofore, in the pursuance of fame and foreign dominion, spent itself vaingloriously abroad; but henceforth may learn a better fortitude, to dare execute highest justice on them that shall by force of arms endeavour the oppressing and be-reaving of religion and their liberty at home. That no unbridled potentate or tyrant, but to his sorrow, for the future may presume such high and irresponsible licence over mankind, to havoc and turn upside down whole kingdoms of men, as though they were no more in respect of his perverse will a nation of pismires.

As for the party called presbyterian, of whom I believe very many to be good and faithful Christians, though misled by some of turbulent spirit, I wish them, earnestly and calmly, not to fall off from their first principles, nor to affect rigour and superiority over men not under them ; not to compel unforcible things, in religion especially, which, if not voluntary, becomes a sin ; not to assist the clamour and malicious drifts of men, whom they themselves have judged to be the worst of men, the obdurate enemies of God and his church : nor to dart against the actions of their brethren, for want of other argument, those wrested laws and scriptures thrown by prelates and malignants against their own sides, which though they hurt not otherwise, yet taken up by them to the condemnation of their own doings, give scandal to all men, and discover in themselves either extreme passion or apostacy. Let them not oppose their best friends and associates, who molest them not at all, infringe not the least of their liberties, unless they call it their liberty to bind other men's consciences, but are still seeking to live at peace with them and brotherly accord. Let them beware an old and perfect enemy, who, though he hope by sowing discord to make them his instruments, yet cannot forbear a minute the open threatening of his destined revenge upon them, when they have served his purposes. Let them fear therefore, if they be wise, rather what they have done already, than what remains to do, and be warned in time that they put no confidence in princes whom they have provoked, lest they be added to the examples of those that miserably have tasted the event.

Stories can inform them how Christiern the Second, king of Denmark, not much above a hundred years past, driven out by his subjects, and received again upon new oaths and conditions, broke through them all to his most bloody revenge ; slaying his chief opposers, when he saw his time, both them and their children, invited to a feast for that purpose. How Maximilian dealt with those of Bruges, though by mediation of the German princes reconciled to them by solemn and public writings drawn and sealed. How the massacre at Paris was the effect of that credulous peace, which the French protestants made with Charles IX. their king : and that the main visible cause, which to this day hath saved the Netherlands from utter ruin, was their final not believing the

perfidious cruelty, which, as a constant maxim of state, hath been used by the Spanish kings on their subjects that have taken arms, and after trusted them; as no latter age but can testify, heretofore in Belgia itself, and this very year in Naples. And to conclude with one past exception, though far more ancient, David, whose sanctified prudence might be alone sufficient, not to warrant us only, but to instruct us, when once he had taken arms, never after that trusted Saul, though with tears and much relenting he twice promised not to hurt him. These instances, few of many, might admonish them, both English and Scotch, not to let their own ends, and the driving on of a faction, betray them blindly into the snare of those enemies whose revenge looks on them as the men who first begun, fomented, and carried on, beyond the cure of any sound or safe accommodation, all the evil which hath since unavoidably befallen them and their king.

I have something also to the divines, though brief to what were needful; not to be disturbers of the civil affairs, being in hands better able and more belonging to manage them; but to study harder, and to attend the office of good pastors, knowing that he, whose flock is least among them, hath a dreadful charge, not performed by mounting twice into the chair with a formal preaching huddled up at the odd hours of a whole lazy week, but by incessant pains and watching, in season and out of season, from house to house, over the souls of whom they have to feed. Which if they ever well considered, how little leisure would they find, to be the most pragmatical sidesmen of every popular tumult and sedition! and all this while are to learn what the true end and reason is of the gospel which they teach; and what a world it differs from the censorious and supercilious lording over conscience. It would be good also they lived so as might persuade the people they hated covetousness, which, worse than heresy, is idolatry; hated pluralities, and all kind of simony; left rambling from benefice to benefice, like ravenous wolves seeking where they may devour the biggest. Of which if some, well and warmly seated from the beginning, be not guilty, it were good they held not conversation with such as are. Let them be sorry, that, being called to assemble about reforming the church, they fell to proggng and soliciting the parliament, though they had renounced the name of priests, for a new

settling of their tithes and oblations ; and double-lined themselves with spiritual places of commodity beyond the possible discharge of their duty. Let them assemble in consistory with their elders and deacons, according to ancient ecclesiastical rule, to the preserving of church discipline, each in his several charge, and not a pack of clergymen by themselves to bellycheer in their presumptuous Sion, or to promote designs, abuse and gull the simple laity, and stir up tumult, as the prelates did, for the maintenance of their pride and avarice.

These things if they observe, and wait with patience, no doubt but all things will go well without their importunities or exclamations ; and the printed letters, which they send subscribed with the ostentation of great characters and little moment, would be more considerable than now they are. But if they be the ministers of mammon instead of Christ, and scandalize his church with the filthy love of gain, aspiring also to sit the closest and the heaviest of all tyrants upon the conscience, and fall notoriously into the same sins, whereof so lately and so loud they accused the prelates ; as God rooted out those wicked ones immediately before, so will he root out them, their imitators ; and, to vindicate his own glory and religion, will uncover their hypocrisy to the open world ; and visit upon their own heads that “ Curse ye Meroz,” the very motto of their pulpits, wherewith so frequently, not as Meroz, but more like atheists, they have blasphemed the vengeance of God, and traduced the zeal of his people.

And that they be not what they go for, true ministers of the protestant doctrine, taught by those abroad, famous and religious men, who first reformed the church, or by those no less zealous, who withstood corruption and the bishops here at home, branded with the name of puritans and nonconformists, we shall abound with testimonies to make appear : that men may yet more fully know the difference between protestant divines, and these pulpit-firebrands. “ Such is the state of things at this day, that men neither can, nor will, nor indeed, ought to endure longer the domination of you princes,” * “ Neither is Cæsar to make war as head of Christendom, protector of the church, defender of the faith ; these titles being false and windy, and most kings

* “ *Is est hodie rerum status,*” &c.—Luther. *Lib. contra rusticos apud Sleidan. I.*

being the greatest enemies to religion.”* What hinders then, but that we may depose or punish them? These also are recited by Cœchlæus in his *Miscellanies* to be the words of Luther, or some other eminent divine, then in Germany, when the protestants there entered into solemn covenant at Smalcaldia: “Ut ora iis obturem,” &c. “That I may stop their mouths, the pope and emperor are not born, but elected; and may also be deposed, as hath been often done.” If Luther, or whoever else, thought so, he could not stay there; for the right of birth or succession can be no privilege in nature, to let a tyrant sit irremovable over a nation freeborn, without transforming that nation from the nature and condition of men born free, into natural, hereditary, and successive slaves. Therefore he saith further; “To displace and throw down this exactor, this Phalaris, this Nero, is a work pleasing to God;” namely, for being such a one: which is a moral reason. Shall then so slight a consideration as his hap to be not elective simply, but by birth, which was a mere accident, overthrow that which is moral, and make unpleasing to God that which otherwise had so well pleased him? Certainly not: for if the matter be rightly argued, election, much rather than chance, binds a man to content himself with what he suffers by his own bad election. Though indeed neither one nor the other binds any man, much less any people, to a necessary sufferance of those wrongs and evils, which they have ability and strength enough given them to remove.

“When kings reign perfidiously, and against the rule of Christ, they may, according to the word of God be deposed.”† “I know not how it comes to pass that kings reign by succession, unless it be with consent of the whole people.”‡ “But when by suffrage and consent of the whole people, or the better part of them, a tyrant is deposed or put to death, God is the chief leader in that action.”§ “Now that we are so lukewarm in upholding public justice, we endure the vices of tyrants to reign now-a-days with impunity;

* “Neque vero Cæsarem,” &c.—*Lib. de Bello contra Turcas, apu Sclid. L xiv.*

† “Quando vero perfidè,” &c.—*Zwinglius, tom. i. articul. 42.*

‡ “Mihi ergo compertum non est,” &c.—*Ibid.*

§ “Quum vero consensu,” &c.—*Ibid.*

justly therefore by them we are trod underfoot, and shall at length with them be punished. Yet ways are not wanting by which tyrants may be removed, but there wants public justice.”* “ Beware, ye tyrants ! for now the gospel of Jesus Christ, spreading far and wide, will renew the lives of many to love innocence and justice ; which if ye also shall do, ye shall be honoured. But if ye shall go on to rage and do violence, ye shall be trampled on by all men.”† “ When the Roman empire, or any other, shall begin o oppress religion, and we negligently suffer it, we are as much guilty of religion so violated, as the oppressors themselves.”‡

“ Now-a-days monarchs pretend always in their titles to be kings by the grace of God ; but how many of them to this end only pretend it, that they may reign without control ! For to what purpose is the grace of God mentioned in the title of kings, but that they may acknowledge no superior ? In the meanwhile God, whose name they use to support themselves, they willingly would tread under their feet. It is therefore a mere cheat, when they boast to reign by the grace of God.”§ “ Earthly princes depose themselves, while they rise against God ; yea, they are unworthy to be numbered among men : rather it behoves us to spit upon their heads, than to obey them.”||

“ If a sovereign prince endeavour by arms to defend transgressors, to subvert those things which are taught in the word of God, they, who are in authority under him, ought first to dissuade him ; if they prevail not, and that he now bears himself not as a prince but as an enemy, and seeks to violate privileges and rights granted to inferior magistrates or commonalties, it is the part of pious magistrates, imploring first the assistance of God, rather to try all ways and means, than to betray the flock of Christ to such an enemy of God : for they also are to this end ordained, that they may defend the people of God, and maintain those things which are good and-

* “ Nunc cum tam tepidi sumus,” &c.—Zwinglius, tom. i. articul. 42.

† “ Cavete vobis ḍ tyranni.”—Ibid.

‡ “ Romanum imperium imḍ quodque,” &c.—Idem. Epist. ad Conrad. Somium.

§ “ Hodie monarchæ semper in suis titulis,” &c.—Calvin on Daniel c. iv. v. 25.

|| “ Abdicant se terreni principes,” &c.—On Dan. c. vi. v. 22.

just. For to have supreme power lessens not the evil committed by that power, but makes it the less tolerable, by how much the more generally hurtful. Then certainly the less tolerable, the more unpardonably to be punished." * Of Peter Martyr we have spoke before. " They whose part is to set up magistrates, may restrain them also from outrageous deeds, or pull them down ; but all magistrates are set up either by parliament or by electors, or by other magistrates ; they, therefore, who exalted them may lawfully degrade and punish them." †

Of the Scots divines I need not mention others than the famousest among them, Knox, and his fellow-labourers in the reformation of Scotland ; whose large treatise on this subject defends the same opinion. To cite them sufficiently, were to insert their whole books, written purposely on this argument. "Knox's Appeal ;" and "to the reader ;" where he promises in a postscript, that the book which he intended to set forth, called, "The Second Blast of the Trumpet," should maintain more at large, that the same men most justly may depose and punish him whom unadvisedly they have elected, notwithstanding birth, succession, or any oath of allegiance. Among our own divines, ‡ Cartwright and Fenner, two of the learn-

* "Si princeps superior," &c.—Bucer on Matth. c. v.

† "Quorum est constituere magistratus," &c.—Paræus in Rom. xiii.

‡ Hobbes, who hated religion still more, if possible, than he did liberty, observes that this "seditious doctrine" found several advocates among the doctors of the church. Treating of the internal causes which produce the dissolution of governments, he first classes among "seditious opinions," the notion that private individuals are able to form a just idea of right and wrong : the second political heresy is the belief that subjects may sin in obeying the unjust commands of those in authority ; and the third "*doctrina seditionis*," deriving its origin from the same root, is, that *tyrannicide is lawful*. "This opinion, however," he says, "was defended, in his day, by certain theologians, and in old times by all the *sophists*, by Plato, for example, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and the other Greek and Roman advocates of anarchy, who not only thought it lawful, but worthy of the highest praise. And by the word *tyrants* they understood not only monarchs, but whoever held the supreme power in a state," (*De Cive*, cap. xii. p. 186.) It is not a little amusing to hear the modern Protagoras complimenting the greatest philosophers of antiquity with the appellation which he knew would surely be applied by posterity to himself. Perhaps he regarded it as a garment which, by being first thrown over the shoulders of virtue and wisdom, might be impregnated with a perfume that would, when he came to wear it, keep his own name from stinking. However, he has here played the *sophist* well, adroitly mixing up truth and falsehood, so

edest, may in reason satisfy us what was held by the rest. Fenner, in his book of Theology, maintaining, that they who have power, that is to say, a parliament, may either by fair means or by force depose a tyrant, whom he defines to be him that wilfully breaks all or the principal conditions made between him and the commonwealth.* And Cartwright, in a prefixed epistle, testifies his approbation of the whole book.

“ Kings have their authority of the people, who may upon occasion reassume it to themselves.”† “ The people may kill wicked princes, as monsters and cruel beasts.”‡ “ When kings or rulers become blasphemers of God, oppressors and murderers of their subjects, they ought no more to be accounted kings, or lawful magistrates, but as private men to be examined, accused, and condemned and punished by the law of God; and being convicted and punished by that law, it is not man’s but God’s doing.”§ “ By the civil laws, a fool or idiot born, and so proved, shall lose the lands and inheritance whereto he is born, because he is not able to use them aright: and especially ought in no case be suffered to have the government of a whole nation; but there is no such evil can come to the commonwealth by fools and idiots, as doth by the rage and fury of ungodly rulers; such, therefore, being without God, ought to have no authority over God’s people, who by his word requireth the contrary.”|| “ No person is exempt by any law of God from this punishment: be he king, queen, or emperor, he must die the death; for God hath not placed them above others, to transgress his laws as they list, but to be subject to them as well as others; and if they be subject to his laws, then to the punishment also, so much the more as their example is more dangerous.”¶

that the reader might be compelled to swallow both together. Tyrannicide was indeed considered lawful by the writers above enumerated; but those only were denominated tyrants who *usurped* the supreme power in a state *previously free*; or exercised an inherited authority in an unjust and flagitious manner. “ Omnes autem et habentur et dicuntur tyranni qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate sua est.”—(Corn. Nepos, in *Vita Miltiad.* c. 8.)—ED.

* Fen. Sac. Theolog. c. 13.

† Gilby de Obedientiâ, p. 25 and 105.

‡ England’s Complaint against the Canons.

§ Christopher Goodman of Obedience, c. x. p. 139.

• || C. xi. p. 143, 144.

¶ C. xiii. p. 184.

"When magistrates cease to do their duty, the people are, as it were, without magistrates, yea, worse, and then God giveth the sword into the people's hand, and he himself is become immediately their head." * "If princes do right, and keep promise with you, then do you owe to them all humble obedience; if not, ye are discharged, and your study ought to be in this case how ye may depose and punish according to the law such rebels against God, and oppressors of their country." †

This Goodman was a minister of the English church at Geneva, as Dudley Fenner was at Middleburgh, or some other place in that country. These were the pastors of those saints and confessors, who, flying from the bloody persecution of Queen Mary, gathered up at length their scattered members into many congregations; whereof some in Upper, some in Lower Germany, part of them settled at Geneva; where this author having preached on this subject, to the great liking of certain learned and godly men who heard him, was by them sundry times and with much instance required to write more fully on that point. Who thereupon took it in hand, and conferring with the best learned in those parts, (among whom Calvin was then living in the same city,) with their special approbation he published this treatise, aiming principally, as is testified by Whittingham in the Preface, that his brethren of England, the protestants, might be persuaded in the truth of that doctrine concerning obedience to magistrates. †

These were the true protestant divines of England, our fathers in the faith we hold; this was their sense, who for so many years labouring under prelacy, through all storms and persecutions, kept religion from extinguishing; and delivered it pure to us, till there arose a covetous and ambitious generation of divines, (for divines they call themselves!) who, feigning on a sudden to be new converts and proselytes from episcopacy, under which they had long temporised, opened their mouths at length, in show against pluralities and prelacy, but with intent to swallow them down both; gorging themselves like harpies on those simonious places and preferments of their ousted predecessors, as the quarry for which they hunted, not to plurality only but to multiplicity; for pos-

* P. 185.

† P. 190.

‡ Whittingham in Prefat.

sessing which they had accused them, their brethren, and aspiring under another title to the same authority and usurpation over the consciences of all men.

Of this faction, divers reverend and learned divines (as they are styled in the philactery of their own title-page) pleading the lawfulness of defensive arms against the king, in a treatise called "Scripture and Reason," seem in words to disclaim utterly the deposing of a king; but both the scripture, and the reasons which they use, draw consequences after them, which, without their bidding, conclude it lawful. For if by scripture, and by that especially to the Romans, which they most insist upon, kings, doing that which is contrary to St. Paul's definition of a magistrate, may be resisted, they may altogether with as much force of consequence be deposed or punished. And if by reason the unjust authority of kings "may be forfeited in part, and his power be reassumed in part, either by the parliament or people, for the case in hazard and the present necessity," as they affirm, p. 34, there can no scripture be alleged, no imaginable reason given, that necessity continuing, as it may always, and they in all prudence and their duty may take upon them to foresee it, why in such a case they may not finally amerce him with the loss of his kingdom, of whose amendment they have no hope. And if one wicked action persisted in against religion, laws, and liberties, may warrant us to thus much in part, why may not forty times as many tyrannies, by him committed, warrant us to proceed on restraining him, till the restraint become total? For the ways of justice are exactest proportion; if for one trespass of a king it require so much remedy or satisfaction, then for twenty more as heinous crimes, it requires of him twenty-fold; and so proportionably, till it come to what is utmost among men. If in these proceedings against their king they may not finish, by the usual course of justice, what they have begun, they could not lawfully begin at all. For this golden rule of justice and morality, as well as of arithmetic, out of three terms which they admit, will as certainly and unavoidably bring out the fourth as any problem that ever Euclid or Appollonius made good by demonstration.

And if the parliament, being undeposable but by themselves, as is affirmed, p. 37, 38, might for his whole life, if they saw cause, take all power, authority, and the sword out

of his hand, which in effect is to unmagistrate him, why might they not, being then themselves the sole magistrates in force, proceed to punish him, who, being lawfully deprived of all things that define a magistrate, can be now no magistrate to be degraded lower, but an offender to be punished. Lastly, whom they may defy, and meet in battle, why may they not as well prosecute by justice? For lawful war is but the execution of justice against them who refuse law. Among whom if it be lawful (as they deny not, p. 19, 20,) to slay the king himself coming in front at his own peril, wherefore may not justice do that intendedly, which the chance of a defensive war might without blame have done casually, nay, purposely, if there it find him among the rest? They ask, p. 19, "By what rule of conscience or God a state is bound to sacrifice religion, laws, and liberties, rather than a prince defending such as subvert them, should come in hazard of his life." And I ask by what conscience, or divinity, or law, or reason, a state is bound to leave all these sacred concerns under a perpetual hazard and extremity of danger, rather than cut off a wicked prince, who sits plotting day and night to subvert them.

They tell us, that the law of nature justifies any man to defend himself, even against the king in person: let them shew us then, why the same law may not justify much more a state or whole people, to do justice upon him, against whom each private man may lawfully defend himself; seeing all kind of justice done is a defence to good men, as well as a punishment to bad; and justice done upon a tyrant is no more but the necessary self-defence of a whole commonwealth. To war upon a king, that his instruments may be brought to condign punishment, and thereafter to punish them the instruments, and not to spare only, but to defend and honour him the author, is the strangest piece of justice to be called Christian, and the strangest piece of reason to be called human, that by men of reverence and learning, as their style imports them, ever yet was vented. They maintain in the third and fourth section, that a judge or inferior magistrate is anointed of God, is his minister, hath the sword in his hand, is to be obeyed by St. Peter's rule, as well as the supreme, and without difference anywhere ex-

pressed : and yet will have us fight against the supreme till he remove and punish the inferior magistrate ; (for such were greatest delinquents;) whereas by scripture, and by reason, there can no more authority be shewn to resist the one than the other ; and altogether as much, to punish or de-pose the supreme himself, as to make war upon him, till he punish or deliver up his inferior magistrates, whom in the same terms we are commanded to obey, and not to resist.

Thus while they, in a cautious line or two here and there stuffed in, are only verbal against the pulling down or punishing of tyrants, all the scripture and the reason which they bring, is in every leaf direct and rational, to infer it altogether as lawful, as to resist them. And yet in all their sermons, as hath by others been well noted, they went much further. For divines if we observe them have their postures, and their motions no less expertly, and with no less variety, than they that practise feats in the Artillery-ground. Sometimes they seem furiously to march on, and presently march counter ; by and by they stand, and then retreat ; or if need be, can face about, or wheel in a whole body, with that cunning and dexterity as is almost unperceivable, to wind themselves by shifting ground into places of more advantage. And providence only must be the drum, providence the word of command, that calls them from above, but always to some larger benefice, or acts them into such or such figures and promotions. At their turns and doublings no men readier, to the right, or to the left ; for it is their turns which they serve chiefly ; herein only singular, that with them there is no certain hand right or left, but as their own commodity thinks best to call it. But if there come a truth to be defended, which to them and their interest of this world seems not so profitable, straight these nimble motionists can find not even legs to stand upon ; and are no more of use to reformation thoroughly performed, and not superficially, or to the advancement of truth, (which among mortal men is always in her progress,) than if on a sudden they were struck maim and crippled. Which the better to conceal, or the more to countenance by a general conformity to their own limping, they would have scripture, they would have reason also made to halt with them for company ; and would

put us off with impotent conclusions, lame and shorter than the premises.

In this posture they seem to stand with great zeal and confidence on the wall of Sion; but like Jebusites, not like Israelites, or Levites: blind also as well as lame, they discern not David from Adonibezec: but cry him up for the Lord's anointed, whose thumbs and great toes not long before they had cut off upon their pulpit cushions. Therefore he who is our only King, the Root of David, and whose kingdom is eternal righteousness, with all those that war under him, whose happiness and final hopes are laid up in that only just and rightful kingdom, (which we pray incessantly may come soon, and in so praying wish hasty ruin and destruction to all tyrants,) even he our immortal King, and all that love him, must of necessity have in abomination these blind and lame defenders of Jerusalem; as the soul of David hated them, and forbid them entrance into God's house, and his own. But as to those before them, which I cited first (and with an easy search, for many more might be added) as they there stand, without more in number, being the best and chief of protestant divines, we may follow them for faithful guides, and without doubting may receive them, as witnesses abundant of what we here affirm concerning tyrants. And indeed I find it generally the clear and positive determination of them all, (not prelatical, or of this late faction subprelatical,) who have written on this argument; that to do justice on a lawless king is to a private man unlawful; to an inferior magistrate lawful: or if they were divided in opinion, yet greater than these here alleged, or of more authority in the church, there can be none produced.

If any one shall go about, by bringing other testimonies to disable these, or by bringing these against themselves in other cited passages of their books, he will not only fail to make good that false and impudent assertion of those mutinous ministers, that the deposing and punishing of a king or tyrant "is against the constant judgment of all protestant divines," it being quite the contrary; but will prove rather what perhaps he intended not, that the judgment of divines, if it be so various and inconstant to itself, is not considerable, or to be esteemed at all. Ere which be yielded, as I hope it never will, these ignorant assertors in their own art will have proved

themselves more and more, not to be protestant divines, whose constant judgment in this point they have so audaciously belied, but rather to be a pack of hungry church-wolves, who in the steps of Simon Magus their father, following the hot scent of double livings and pluralities, advowsons, donatives, inductions, and augmentations, though uncalled to the flock of Christ, but by the mere suggestion of their bellies, like those priests of Bel, whose pranks Daniel found out; have got possession, or rather seized upon the pulpit, as the stronghold and fortress of their sedition and rebellion against the civil magistrate. Whose friendly and victorious hand having rescued them from the bishops, their insulting lords, fed them plenteously, both in public and in private, raised them to be high and rich of poor and base; only suffered not their covetousness and fierce ambition (which as the pit that sent out their fellow-locusts hath been ever bottomless and boundless) to interpose in all things, and over all persons, their impetuous ignorance and importunity?

NOTE.—After what has been said both in the Preliminary Discourse and in the notes to this treatise, it may be scarcely necessary to repeat that the reasonings of Milton are directed only against a wicked tyrant in a despotic state. The Stuarts, rejecting the principles of the British Constitution, sought to reduce the people of these realms to an equality with the serfs of Ruesia; and accordingly, in 1688, the measure of their iniquity being full, they were driven from the throne, and our present free constitution established. Since that glorious period, which has placed Great Britain at the head of the civilized world, this work of Milton must be regarded as a mere historical curiosity, which, among ourselves,—where constitutionally “the king can do no wrong,”—could by no possibility, any more than my own remarks on this or upon the other Treatises, have any application to the existing state of things.—For this reason men of all parties have from time to time brought it before the public, as an example of the manner in which its author's powerful intellect grappled with the question discussed therein; and however the reader may dissent from his conclusions, he will not deny that, as a literary composition,—for in this light only ought it now to be considered,—it is deserving of high commendation. Not having had the happiness to live to taste of the constitutional freedom we enjoy, Milton had always in view the opposing of absolute monarchy, or mere despotism; he had had no experience of any other. To lawful constitutional princes he constantly teaches that all obedience and honour are due; and, therefore, making the necessary allowance for the state of excitement in which he wrote, and the angry adversaries he contended with, he may, though sometimes intemperate, be read not only without injury, but with much advantage, at the distance we are now placed from his stormy times.—ED.

AREOPAGITICA :
A SPEECH FOR
THE LIBERTY OF UNLICENSED PRINTING.
TO THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

Τούλένθερον δ' ἐκεῖνο, οὐ τις θελει πόλει
Χρησόν τι βούλειμ' εἰς μέσον φέρειν, ἔχων.
Καὶ ταῦθ', ὁ χρύζων, λαμπρὸς ἐσθ', ὁ μὴ θέλων,
Σιγῇ, τί τετων ἐστιν ἰσαιτέρον πόλει ;—Euripid. *Hicetia*.

"This is true liberty, when free-born men,
Having to advise the public, may speak free,
Which he who can, and will, deserves high praise ;
Who neither can, nor will, may hold his peace :
What can be juster in a state than this ?"—Euripid. *Hicetia*.

EDITOR'S PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

MILTON's mind, having now reached maturity, yielded in profusion those rich and incomparable fruits which are the natural produce of genius and learning. The "Areopagitica," as well as the "Tractate on Education," was published in 1644, with the design of convincing the presbyterians—who, being now in power, were mimicking the intolerant example set them by the prelates—of the iniquity and impolicy of endeavouring the suppression of opinions by force. He saw, with that quick intuition which belongs to elevated minds, how vain the attempt must always prove to confine thought, or the active expression of it, by material shackles ; and, with the honesty and magnanimity of a devout Christian, he sought to vindicate for others the liberty he had, while his party was the weaker, contended for himself. In performing this duty he exerted the utmost energy of his mind. Passing in rapid review the practices of the most refined nations of ancient and modern times, he shows freedom in connexion with whatever is of highest excellence in government, or of greatest virtue and enlightenment in society ; while licensing and the tyranny of opinion, originating in barbarous superstition, have always gone hand in hand with bad government, and either found the people ignorant and slothful, or, if tamely submitted to, have rendered them so. Injustice, if productive of no other advantage, serves at least to rouse good and noble natures, to express their detestation of it ; and thus it has proved serviceable to posterity that the presbyterians misused their power ; for had they acted uprightly, the "Areopagitica" had never been written. By almost all writers this discourse has been regarded as Milton's masterpiece. Perhaps it is so. Nothing, in fact, can surpass those vivid, inspiring flashes of eloquence which lighten over its periods, and find their way to the very heart and root of all our noblest sympathies. Nothing can be more replete with grandeur than that creative, life-infusing spirit, which breathes through the whole, kindling up an intense love of the good and the beautiful ; awakening in every breast a devout admiration for those possessors of virtue and genius commissioned by heaven to reveal to us how much of the great and godlike there is in man ; animating even the feeble and vacillating with at least a temporary enthusiasm for freedom,

and that virtuous spirit of martyrdom by which all its advocates should be inflamed. He works out his problem triumphantly. He proves, what had already been hinted at in the "Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence," that the liberty of the press is no less beneficial to governments than to the people. Nevertheless, his work had not, as Dr. Birch observes, the proper effect upon the presbyterians, who having at that time the ascendant, were as tenacious of continuing the restraints upon others, as they had been loud in their complaints of them when imposed on themselves. According to Toland,* however, so great was the influence of the "Discourse," that even one of the licensers themselves, by name Mabbott, having first assigned his reasons, retired from the office in 1645. But this, as appears from Whitelocke,† is erroneous, for Mabbott did not resign office until May 22, 1649; when upon his desire, and having assigned his reasons against licensing books to be printed, he was discharged of that employment. We find a particular account of this transaction in a quarto weekly paper, entitled, "A Perfect Diurnal of some Passages in Parliament, and the daily Proceedings of the Army under his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, from May 21 to May 28, 1649." No. 304, page 253.‡

AREOPAGITICA.

THEY, who to states and governors of the commonwealth direct their speech, high court of parliament! or wanting such access in a private condition, write that which they foresee may advance the public good; I suppose them, as at the beginning of no mean endeavour, not a little altered and moved inwardly in their minds; some with doubt of what will be the success, others with fear of what will be the censure; some with hope, others with confidence of what they have to speak. And me perhaps each of these dispositions, as the subject was whereon I entered, may have at other times variously affected; and likely might in these foremost expressions now also disclose which of them swayed most, but that the very attempt of this address thus made, and the thought of whom it hath recourse to, hath got the power within me to a passion, far more welcome than incidental to a preface.

Which though I stay not to confess ere any ask, I shall be blameless, if it be no other than the joy and gratulation which it brings to all who wish to promote their country's liberty; whereof this whole discourse proposed will be a cer-

* Life of Milton, p. 23. + Memorials, &c. p. 403, edit. of Lond. 1732.

‡ Birch's Life of Milton, p. 30.

tain testimony, if not a trophy.* For this is not the liberty which we can hope, that no grievance ever should arise in the commonwealth: that let no man in this world expect; but when complaints are freely heard, deeply considered, and speedily reformed, then is the utmost bound of civil liberty obtained that wise men look for. To which if I now manifest, by the very sound of this which I shall utter, that we are already in good part arrived, and yet from such a steep disadvantage of tyranny and superstition grounded into our principles, as was beyond the manhood of a Roman recovery, it will be attributed first, as is most due, to the strong assistance of God, our deliverer; next, to your faithful guidance and undaunted wisdom, lords and commons of England! Neither is it in God's esteem, the diminution of his glory, when honourable things are spoken of good men, and worthy magistrates; which if I now first should begin to do,† after so fair a progress of your laudable deeds, and such a long obligement upon the whole realm to your indefatigable virtues, I might be justly reckoned among the tardiest and the unwillingest of them that praise ye.

Nevertheless there being three principal things, without which all praising is but courtship and flattery: first, when that only is praised which is solidly worth praise; next, where greatest likelihoods are brought, that such things are truly and really in those persons to whom they are ascribed; the other, when he who praises, by shewing that such his actual persuasion is of whom he writes, can demonstrate that he flatters not; the former two of these I have heretofore endeavoured, rescuing the employment from him who went about to impair your merits with a trivial and malignant encomium;‡ the latter as belonging chiefly to mine own acquittal,

* His discourse may, perhaps, be regarded, he says, as a trophy of liberty, as proving, by the boldness with which he speaks, that England was then free.—ED.

† He reminds the parliament that this was not the first time he had spoken their praises, both that he might not be suspected of endeavouring to purchase a favour by fine words, and that they, on the other hand, might learn, in all they did, to seek the approbation of the public. His former panegyric occurs in the “Apology for Smectymnuus.”—ED.

‡ Bishop Hall's encomium is unskilful, because it betrays the insincerity of the writer. He could not conceal how unwillingly he even augured well of them; and afterwards in his reply to Smectymnuus, the different spirit

that whom I so extolled I did not flatter, hath been reserved opportunely to this occasion. For he who freely magnifies what hath been nobly done, and fears not to declare as freely what might be done better, gives ye the best covenant of his fidelity; and that his loyalest affection and his hope waits on your proceedings. His highest praising is not flattery, and his plainest advice is a kind of praising; for though I should affirm and hold by argument, that it would fare better with truth, with learning, and the commonwealth, if one of your published orders, which I should name, were called in; yet at the same time it could not but much redound to the lustre of your mild and equal government, wheras private persons are hereby animated to think ye better pleased with public advice than other statists have been delighted heretofore with public flattery. And men will then see what difference there is between the magnanimity of a triennial parliament, and that jealous haughtiness of prelates* and cabin counsellors that usurped of late, wheras they shall observe ye in the midst of your victories and successes more gently brooking written exceptions against a voted order, than other courts, which ha produced nothing worth memory but the weak ostentation of wealth, would have endured the least signified dislike at any sudden proclamation.

If I should thus far presume upon the meek demeanour of your civil and gentle greatness, lords and commons! as what your published order hath directly said, that to gainsay, I might defend myself with ease, if any should accuse me of in which he addressed the king, rendered the insipidity of his praise of the parliament the more palpable.—ED.

* We may learn from Baxter, a great and holy man, in what light the members of the hierarchy were then very generally viewed: “ If we meet with a clergy that are high, and have a great deal of worldly interest at stake; or if they be in councils and synods, and have got the major vote, they too easily believe that either their grandeur, reverence, names, or numbers, must give them the reputation of being orthodox, and in the right, and will warrant them to account and defame him as erroneous, heretical, schismatical, singular, factious or proud, that presumeth to contradict them, and to know more than they; of which not only the case of Nazianzen, Martin, and Chrysostom are sad proofs, but also the proceedings of too many general and provincial councils. And so our hard studies and darling truth must make us as owls, or reproached persons among those reverend brethren, who are ignorant at easier rates, and who find it a far softer kind of life to think and say as the most or best esteemed do, than to purchase reproach and obloquy so dearly.”—(*Dying Thoughts*, p. 111, *Sacred Classics’ edition*).—ED.

being new or insolent, did they but know how much better I find ye esteem it to imitate the old and elegant humanity of Greece,* than the barbaric pride of a Hunnish and Norwegian statelyness. And out of those ages, to whose polite wisdom and letters we owe that we are not yet Goths and Jutlanders, I could name him† who from his private house wrote that discourse to the parliament of Athens, that persuades them to change the form of democracy which was then established. Such honour was done in those days to men who professed the study of wisdom and eloquence, not only in their own country, but in other lands, that cities and signories heard them gladly,‡ and with great respect, if they had aught in public to admonish the state. Thus did Dion

* Greek authors were in those times diligently studied, at least by all who aimed at distinction in politics or literature; and this will always perhaps, be the case, when a democratical feeling exists in the public mind. Hobbes, the Philistus of modern history, is accused of having, for this reason, counselled the destruction of Greek authors; but he translated Homer and Thucydides, from neither of whom could absolute monarchy derive much support.

† He means Isocrates, who, in a discourse, in title almost identical with his own, ventured upon the bold step here mentioned. In his sonnet to the Lady Margaret Leigh he again alludes to this great man, but without naming him:

“As that dishonest victory”
At Chæronea, fatal to liberty,
Killed with report that old man eloquent.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus entertained a no less lofty opinion of Isocrates. “Who,” says he, “can read his Areopagitic discourse without improving in wisdom? Or, who but must admire the enterprise of the orator that, in addressing the Athenians on the affairs of government, had the boldness to advise the abandonment of the form of democracy then established, as highly injurious to the interests of the state: Τις δὲ τὸν Αρεοπαγιτικὸν ἀναγνοὺς λόγον, κ. τ. λ. Περὶ Των Ἀρκαιων Ρήτορων Ὑπομνημ. Ισοκρατης, ἥ.—ED.

‡ This particularly applies to the Sophists, such as Protagoras and Hippias, who travelled from city to city, lecturing on the science of politics, and leading about with them, as their pupils, young men of the most distinguished families in Greece.—Plato, in the *Hippias and Protagoras*. Hume, himself a sophist of the school of Protagoras, entertained a high veneration for the rhetorical art; and, speaking of the comparative neglect of it by the moderns, observes:—“We are told, that when Demosthenes was to plead, all ingenious men flocked to Athens from the most remote parts of Greece, as to the most celebrated spectacle of the world. At London you may see men sauntering in the court of requests, while the most important debate is carrying on in the two houses; and many do not think themselves sufficiently compensated for the losing of their dinners, by all the eloquence

Prusæus, a stranger and a private orator, counsel the Rhodians against a former edict; and I abound with other like examples, which to set here would be superfluous. But if from the industry of a life wholly dedicated to studious labours, and those natural endowments haply not the worst for two and fifty degrees of northern latitude, so much must be derogated, as to count me not equal to any of those who had this privilege, I would obtain to be thought not so inferior,* as yourselves are superior to the most of them who received their counsel; and how far you excel them, be assured, lords and commons! there can no greater testimony appear, than when your prudent spirit acknowledges and obeys the voice of reason, from what quarter† soever it be heard speaking; and renders ye as willing to repeal any act of your own setting forth, as any set forth by your predecessors.

If ye be thus resolved, as it were injury to think ye were not, I know not what should withhold me from presenting ye with a fit instance wherein to show both that love of truth which ye eminently profess, and that uprightness of your judgment which is not wont to be partial to yourselves; by judging over again that order which ye have ordained “to regulate printing: that no book, pamphlet, or paper shall be henceforth printed, unless the same be first approved and licensed by such, or at least one of such, as shall be thereto appointed.” For that part which preserves justly every man’s copy to himself,‡ or provides for the poor, of our most celebrated speakers. When old Cibber is to act, the curiosity of several is more excited, than when our prime minister is to defend himself from a motion for his removal or impeachment.”—(*Essays, &c.* 4to. p. 63.)—ED.

* A noble compliment both to himself and the parliament. Old Montaigne would have been satisfied with this self-confidence.—ED.

† Milton appears in this passage to glance at a sportive and beautiful remark of Socrates in the *Phædrus*. His youthful companion having insinuated that the Egyptian story of Theuth and Thamus, which he had just been relating, was one of his own amusing inventions, the philosopher replies: “The ministers of the Dodonæan Jupiter inform us, my friend, that the first oracles were delivered from an oak; and the people of those days, not being so wise as we are now become, cared not, so that what they heard were true, whether it proceeded from a rock or a tree. But to you, perhaps, the country of the speaker makes a difference; to discover what is true, not being your sole object.”—(*T. I.* p. 98)—ED.

‡ See this order in Rushworth’s *Hist. Col.* V. 335. Lord Mansfield, in the case of literary property, laid considerable stress on this passage, as an

I touch not; only wish they be not made pretences to abuse and persecute honest and painful men, who offend not in either of these particulars. But that other clause of licensing books, which we thought had died with his brother quadragesimal and matrimonial* when the prelates expired, I shall now attend with such a homily, as shall lay before ye, first, the inventors of it to be those whom ye will be loath to own; next, what is to be thought in general of reading, whatever sort the books be; and that this order avails nothing to the suppressing of scandalous, seditious, and libellous books, which were mainly intended to be suppressed.† Last, that it will be primely to the discouragement authority of weight for the judgment he was pronouncing in favour of copyrights:—“The single opinion of such a man as Milton, speaking after much consideration on the very point, is stronger than any inferences from gathering acorns, and seizing a vacant piece of ground; when the writers, so far from thinking of the very point, speak of an imaginary state of nature before the invention of letters.” (*Holiday's Life of Lord Mansfield*, p. 232.) Our author, adds Holt White, could not have ventured to expect that his tract would be cited from the bench in such terms of praise by a Chief Justice of England.—ED.

* However quaintly the word *quadragesimal* now sounds, we must not impute this Latin synonyme for the English adjective *lenten* to Milton as a pedantic intrusion of his own on our language. I find it in the “Ordinary,” one of Cartwright’s comedies:—

“But *Quadragesimal* wits and fancies lean
As Ember weeks.”

Quadragesimal licences, I conclude to have been the permissions which, even subsequently to the Reformation, were granted for eating white meats in Lent, on Ember days, and on others, which were appointed by Act of Parliament for Fish Days. Queen Elizabeth used to say, that she would never eat flesh in Lent without obtaining licence from her little black husband, (Walton’s *Life of Hooker*, 209, ed. of 1807,) as she called Archbishop Whitgift. During the interregnum, marriages were, by an ordinance of Parliament, solemnized before a civil magistrate, and without a licence. I copy the form of a certificate on the occasion from the original now before me:—“Sussex.—These are to certify those whom it may concern, that Thomas Holt of Petersfield, in the county of Louth, clerk, and Charity Shirley of Kirdford, in the county of Sussex, spinster, were married at Plaistow, in the parish of Kirdford, on the one and twentieth of May, by Richard Knowles, Esq. one of the Commissioners for the Peace in the said county of Sussex. (L.S.) “RICHARD KNOWLES.”

“In the presence of W.M. MILLWOOD,
JOHN BEATON.”

Milton’s allusion must have been to this practice. (*Holt White.*)—ED.

† See in proof of this, Note p. 101, at the conclusion of this speech, where we find, by the testimony of Mabbott, himself a licenser, how easily men devised means of eluding the ridiculous severity of the law, and of convert-

ment of all learning, and the stop of truth, not only by disexercising and blunting our abilities, in what we know already, but by hindering and cropping the discovery that might be yet further made, both in religious and civil wisdom.

I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the church and commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves, as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a progeny of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragon's teeth: and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men.* And yet, on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. It is true, no age can restore a life, whereof, perhaps, there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary, therefore, what persecution we raise against the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at the ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself; slays an immortality rather than a life. But lest I should be condemned of introducing licence, while I oppose licensing, I

ing what was intended to be a curb, into a screen and protection from punishment.—ED.

* This magnificent metaphor furnishes an additional proof of the infinite skill with which Milton converts his reading, whether common or uncommon, into a means of enriching and enlivening his style.—ED.

refuse not the pains to be so much historical, as will serve to shew what hath been done by ancient and famous commonwealths, against this disorder, till the very time that this project of licensing crept out of the inquisition, was catched up by our prelates, and hath caught some of our presbyters.

In Athens, where books and wits were ever busier than in any other part of Greece, I find but only two sorts of writings which the magistrate cared to take notice of; those either blasphemous and atheistical, or libellous. Thus the books of Protagoras* were by the judges of Areopagus, commanded to be burnt, and himself banished the territory for a discourse, begun with his confessing not to know "whether there were gods, or whether not." And against defaming, it was agreed that none should be traduced by name, as was the manner of Vetus Comœdia, whereby we may guess how they censured libelling; and this course was quick enough, as Cicero writes, to quell both the desperate wits of other atheists, and the open way of defaming, as the event showed. Of other sects and opinions, though tending to voluptuousness, and the denying of divine Providence, they took no heed. Therefore we do not read that either Epicurus, or that libertine school of Cyrene, or what the Cynic impudence uttered, was ever questioned by the laws. Neither is it recorded that the writings of those old comedians were suppressed, though the acting of them were forbid; and that Plato commended the reading of Aristophanes, the loosest of them all, to his royal scholar, Dionysius, is commonly known, and may be excused, if holy

* Protagoras, in Plato's dialogue which bears his name, boasts of the boldness with which he had always professed himself a sophist; and yet he reached extreme old age before the impiety of his doctrines incurred the displeasure of the court of Areopagus. Other sophists disguised their real characters in various ways: some travelling about as teachers of music; some as architects, or physicians. With respect to the Old Comedy, no one can feel surprised that the magistrates should at length have interfered with its licentiousness; for we know, from the example of Aristophanes, that neither the loftiest genius, nor the purest virtue, could escape its audacious slanders. Mr. Holt White, who deserves much praise for his laborious endeavours to throw light on this work of Milton, observes, after Veileius Paterculus, that Pindar was the only Greek writer of eminence who was not a native of Attica. But this is an extraordinary mistake; Aristotle was a native of Macedonian Thrace, Hippocrates of Cos, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, Lucian of Samosata, Polybius of Megalopolis, Plutarch of Chæronea in Boeotia, &c.; and these are writers of eminence."—ED.

Chrysostom,* as is reported, nightly studied so much the same author, and had the art to cleanse a scurrilous vehemence into the style of a rousing sermon.

That other leading city of Greece, Lacedæmon, considering that Lycurgus their lawgiver was so addicted to elegant learning, as to have been the first that brought out of Ionia the scattered works of Homer, and sent the poet Thales† from Crete, to prepare and mollify the Spartan surliness with his smooth songs and odes, the better to plant among them law and civility; it is to be wondered how museless and unbookish they were, minding nought but the feats of war.‡ There needed no licensing of books among them, for they disliked all but their own laconic apophthegms, and took a slight occasion to chase Archilochus out of their city, perhaps for composing in a higher strain than their own soldiery ballads and roundels could reach to; or if it were for his broad verses, they were not therein so cautious, but they were as dissolute in their promiscuous conversing; whence Euripides§ affirms, in *Andromache*, that their women were all unchaste.

* He is said by Aldus Manutius, but I know not his authority, to have commonly slept with the comedies of this writer under his pillow; and traces of his comic reading are said to be still visible in his homilies. The critics "unanimously attribute to the Christian orator," says Gibbon, "the free command of an elegant and copious language; the judgment to conceal the advantages he derived from the knowledge of rhetoric and philosophy; an inexhaustible fund of metaphors and similitudes, of ideas and images, to vary and illustrate the most familiar topics; the happy art of engaging the passions in the service of virtue; and of exposing the folly, as well as the turpitude, of vice, almost with the truth and spirit of a dramatic representation."—(*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, V. 400, 401.)—ED.

† This is an error, probably typographical. The poet here intended was named not Thales but Thaletas. He was a native of Elyrus in Crete, and is said to have purified Sparta with music when attacked by the plague. (*Plutarch. de Music.* 42) Thaletas flourished about 620, B. C., several ages after Lycurgus, and was the first who brought the Cretic or Pæonian metre into general use. (*Müller, "History and Antiquities of the Doric Race,"* i. 363, 372.) This learned writer observes, (ii. 14,) that chronology forbids our giving credit to those authors who pretend that Thaletas was the instructor of Lycurgus, since, according to undoubted testimony, he belongs to a later period. Plutarch, he adds, dates the second epoch of Spartan music from Thaletas the Elyrian,—whose skill was derived from the ancient sacred minstrels of the neighbouring town of Tarrha,—and from Xenodamus of Cythera, and Xenocrates the Locrian, &c. (ii. 334.)—ED.

‡ On this question see Müller's "History and Antiquities of the Doric Race," ii. 328—422.—ED.

§ Aristotle, also, animadverts severely on the licentiousness and immodesty,

This much may give us light after what sort of books were prohibited among the Greeks. The Romans also for many ages trained up only to a military roughness, resembling most the Lacedæmonian guise, knew of learning little but what their twelve tables* and the pontifical college with their augurs and flamens taught them in religion and law; so unacquainted with other learning, that when Carneades and Critolaus, with the stoic Diogenes, coming ambassadors to Rome, took thereby occasion to give the city a taste of their philosophy, they were suspected for seducers by no less a man than Cato the Censor,† who moved it in the senate to dismiss them speedily, and to banish all such Attic babblers out of Italy. But Scipio and others of the noblest senators withstood him and his old Sabine austerity; honoured and admired the men; and the censor himself at last, in his old age, fell to the study of that whereof before he was so scrupulous. And yet, at the same time, Nævius and Plautus, the first Latin comedians, had filled the city with all the borrowed scenes of Menander and Philemon.‡ Then began to be considered there also what was to be done to libellous books and authors; for Nævius was quickly cast into prison for his unbridled pen, and released by the tribunes upon his recantation: we read also that libels were burnt, and the makers punished, by Augustus.

The like severity, no doubt, was used, if aught were impiously written against their esteemed gods. Except in these of the Spartan women, whom he accuses of having, during the invasion of the Thebans, caused more evil than the arms of the enemy. Like all martial nations, the Lacedæmonians, he says, were governed by their wives: and to this circumstance many imperfections of their state might be traced (*Politics*, l. ii. c. 7.) The verses of Euripides referred to commence, οὐδὲ ἀν εἴ θούλοιτό τις. κ. τ. λ.—(*Audrom.* v. 595, sqq.)—ED.

* On the ancient laws of Rome, both regal and decemviral, see Lipsius's collection, *Opera*, t. iv. p. 223, sqq.—ED.

+ This odious old savage, who sold or starved to death his worn-out slaves, might well be an enemy to Greek literature; nevertheless, in the decline of life he courted the Attic muse, and is said to have made considerable progress in the knowledge of Grecian history. (*Corn. Nep. in Vitâ*. c. 3.) In speaking of Carneades, Cicero says: “Erat etiam Metrodorus, qui cum illis una ipsum illum Carneadem diligentius audierat, hominum omnium in dicendo, ut ferebant, acerrimum et copiosissimum.” (*De Orat.* i. 11.) On his visit to Rome, see *De Oratore*, ii. 37.—ED.

‡ On the Roman comic writers, see the dissertation of Daniel Heinsius, prefixed to the Elzevir edition of Terence.—ED.

two points, how the world went in books, the magistrate kept no reckoning. And therefore Lucretius,* without impeachment, versifies his Epicurism to Meminius, and had the honour to be set forth the second time by Cicero, so great a father of the commonwealth ; although himself disputes against that opinion in his own writings. Nor was the satirical sharpness or naked plainness of Lucilius, or Catullus, or Flaccus, by any order prohibited. And for matters of state, the story of Titus Livius, though it extolled that part which Pompey held, was not therefore suppressed by Octavius Cæsar, of the other faction. But that Naso was by him banished in his old age, for the wanton poems of his youth, was but a mere covert of state over some secret cause; † and besides, the books were neither banished nor called in. From hence we shall meet with little else but tyranny in the Roman empire, ‡ that we may not marvel, if not so often bad as good books were silenced. I shall therefore deem to have been large enough, in producing what among the ancients was punishable to write, save only which, all other arguments were free to treat on.

By this time the emperors were become Christians, whose discipline in this point I do not find to have been more severe than what was formerly in practice. The books of those whom they took to be grand heretics were examined, refuted,

* Lucretius is, perhaps, the only poet inspired by materialism. It was not likely, however, that he should be disturbed in the promulgation of Epicurianism in a country where senators hesitated not to express the same opinions before the great council of the nation, as was done by Cæsar in the debates on the Catilinarian conspiracy.—ED.

† This very curious point of ancient history has never been cleared up. We are still ignorant why Ovid was banished : but whatever may have been the cause, we cannot regret a circumstance which emancipated him from the enervating vices of Rome, and gave rise to those curious works in which he describes the manners of the barbarians among whom he lived. “The nine books of poetical epistles, which Ovid composed during the first seven years of his melancholy exile, possess beside the merit of excellence a double value. They exhibit a picture of the human mind under very singular circumstances ; and they contain many curious observations, which no Roman, except Ovid, could have an opportunity of making.”—(Gibbon. *Hist. of Decline, &c.* iii. 121, note.)—ED.

‡ The fiercely persecuting spirit of the emperors soon taught the Romans the difference between a free and a tyrannical government. Tacitus abounds with examples, none of which, perhaps, are more striking than that of Cremitius Cordus.—ED.

and condemned in the general councils; and not till then were prohibited, or burnt, by authority of the emperor. As for the writings of heathen authors, unless they were plain invectives against Christianity, as those of Porphyrius and Proclus, they met with no interdict that can be cited, till about the year 400, in a Carthaginian council, wherein bishops themselves were forbid to read the books of Gentiles, but heresies they might read; while others long before them, on the contrary, scrupled more the books of heretics, than of Gentiles. And that the primitive councils and bishops were wont only to declare what books were not commendable, passing no further, but leaving it to each one's conscience to read or to lay by, till after the year 800, is observed already by Padre Paolo, the great unmasker of the Trentine council. After which time the popes of Rome, engrossing what they pleased of political rule into their own hands, extended their dominion over men's eyes, as they had before over their judgments, burning and prohibiting to be read what they fancied not; yet sparing in their censures, and the books not many which they so dealt with; till Martin the Fifth, by his bull, not only prohibited, but was the first that excommunicated the reading of heretical books; for about that time Wickliffe and Husse growing terrible, were they who first drove the papal court to a stricter policy of prohibiting. Which course Leo the Tenth and his successors followed, until the council of Trent and the Spanish inquisition, engendering together, brought forth or perfected those catalogues and expurging indexes, that rake through the entrails of many an old good author, with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb.

Nor did they stay in matters heretical, but any subject that was not to their palate, they either condemned in a prohibition, or had it straight into the new purgatory of an index. To fill up the measure of encroachment, their last invention was to ordain that no book, pamphlet, or paper should be printed (as if St. Peter had bequeathed them the keys of the press also as well as of Paradise) unless it were approved and licensed under the hands of two or three glutinous friars. For example:—

“ Let the chancellor Cini be pleased to see if in this present work be contained aught that may withstand the printing.

“ Vincent Rabbata Vicar of Florence.”

" I have seen this present work, and find nothing athwart the catholic faith and good manners : in witness whereof I have given, &c.

" Nicolo Cini, Chancellor of Florence."

" Attending the precedent relation, it is allowed that this present work of Davanzati may be printed. " Vincent Rabbata," &c.

" It may be printed, July 15.

" Friar Simon Mompei d'Amelia, Chancellor of the Holy Office in Florence."

Sure they have a conceit, if he of the bottomless pit had not long since broke prison, that this quadruple exorcism would bar him down. I fear their next design will be to get into their custody the licensing of that which they say Claudius intended,* but went not through with. Vouchsafe to see another of their forms, the Roman stamp :—

" Imprimatur, If it seem good to the reverend master of the Holy Palace.
" Belcastro, Vicegerent."

" Imprimatur,

" Friar Nicholo Rodolphi, Master of the Holy Palace."

Sometimes five imprimaturs are seen together, dialogue wise, in the piazza of one titlepage, complimenting and ducking each to other with their shaven reverences, whether the author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his epistle, shall to the press or to the sponge. These are the pretty responsories, these are the dear antiphonies, that so bewitched of late our prelates and their chaplains, with the goodly echo they made ; and besotted us to the gay imitation of a lordly imprimatur, one from Lambeth-house, another from the west end of Paul's ; so apishly romanizing, that the word of command still was set down in Latin ; as if the learned grammatical pen that wrote it would cast no ink without Latin ; or perhaps, as they thought, because no vulgar tongue was worthy to express the pure conceit of an imprimatur ; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the language of men ever famous and foremost in the achievements of liberty, will not easily find servile letters enow to spell such a dictatorial presumption Englished.

And thus ye have the inventors and the original of book licensing ripped up and drawn as lineally as any pedigree. We have it not, that can be heard of, from any ancient state, or polity, or church, nor by any statute left us by our ances-

* " Quo veniam daret flatum crepitumque ventris in convivio emittendi."
—(*Sueton. in Claudio.*)—MILTON.

tors elder or later; nor from the modern custom of any reformed city or church abroad; but from the most anti-christian council, and the most tyrannous inquisition that ever inquired. Till then books were ever as freely admitted into the world as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stifled than the issue of the womb: no envious Juno sat cross-legged over the nativity of any man's intellectual offspring; but if it proved a monster, who denies but that it was justly burnt, or sunk into the sea? But that a book, in worse condition than a peccant soul, should be to stand before a jury ere it be born to the world, and undergo yet in darkness the judgment of Radamanth and his colleagues, ere it can pass the ferry backward into light, was never heard before, till that mysterious iniquity, provoked and troubled at the first entrance of reformation, sought out new limboes and new hells wherein they might include our books also within the number of their damned. And this was the rare morsel so officiously snatched up, and so illfavouredly imitated by our inquisitient bishops, and the attendant minorites, their chaplains. That ye like not now these most certain authors of this licensing order, and that all sinister intention was far distant from your thoughts, when ye were importuned the passing it, all men who know the integrity of your actions, and how ye honour truth, will clear ye readily.

But some will say, what though the inventors were bad, the thing for all that may be good. It may so; yet if that thing be no such deep invention, but obvious and easy for any man to light on, and yet best and wisest commonwealths through all ages and occasions have forborne to use it, and falsest seducers and oppressors of men were the first who took it up, and to no other purpose but to obstruct and hinder the first approach of reformation; I am of those who believe, it will be a harder alchymy than Lullius * ever

* Raymond Lully was born at Palma, capital of the island of Majorca, about the year 1235. His system, known under the name of *Ars Lulliana*, was very celebrated in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Some authors, as Bouelles, say he died at Tunis, in 1314: others contend that, having been wounded on the coast of Africa, whither he had gone to convert the Mohammedans, he sailed for Majorca, and died in sight of land, in 1315, aged eighty years. Vernon relates that he visited England for the purpose of inciting king Edward to make war against the Turks: but this is altogether erroneous. His works are exceedingly numerous.—ED.

knew, to sublimate any good use out of such an invention. Yet this only is what I request to gain from this reason, that it may be held a dangerous and suspicious fruit, as certainly it deserves, for the tree that bore it, until I can dissect one by one the properties it has. But I have first to finish, as was propounded, what is to be thought in general of reading books, whatever sort they be, and whether be more the benefit or the harm that thence proceeds.

Not to insist upon the examples of Moses, Daniel, and Paul, who were skilful in all the learning of the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Greeks, which could not probably be without reading their books of all sorts, in Paul especially, who thought it no defilement to insert into holy scripture the sentences of three Greek poets,* and one of them a tragedian; the question was notwithstanding sometimes controverted among the primitive doctors, but with great odds on that side which affirmed it both lawful and profitable, as was then evidently perceived, when Julian the Apostate, and subtlest enemy to our faith, made a decree forbidding Christians the study of heathen learning;† for, said he, they wound

* The three Greek poets quoted by St. Paul, are, 1. the Cretan Epimenides, Epist. to Titus, i. 12; 2. Aratus, Acts, xvii. 28; and 3, Euripides, or, according to others, Menander, 1 Corinth. xv. 33.—ED.

+ “The edict itself,” observes Gibbon, “which is still extant among the epistles of Julian, (xlii.) may be compared with the loose invectives of Gregory, (Orat. iii. p. 96.) Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. t. vii. p. 1291) has collected the seeming differences of ancients and moderns. They may be easily reconciled. The Christians were *directly* forbid to teach, they were *indirectly* forbid to learn; since they would not frequent the schools of the Pagans.” Of the Apostate’s prohibiting the Christians from teaching, he gives the following account: “A just and severe censure has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric. The motives alleged by the emperor to justify this partial and oppressive measure might command, during his lifetime, the silence of slaves, and the applause of flatterers. Julian abuses the ambiguous meaning of a word which might be indifferently applied to the language and the religion of the Greeks: he contemptuously observes, that the men who exalt the merit of implicit faith are unfit to claim or to enjoy the advantages of science; and he vainly contends, that if they refuse to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought to content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the churches of the Galilæans. In all the cities of the Roman world, the education of the youth was entrusted to masters of grammar and rhetoric; who were elected by the magistrates, maintained at the public expense, and distinguished by many lucrative and honourable privileges. The edict of Julian appears to have included the physicians, and

us with our own weapons, and with our own arts and sciences they overcome us. And indeed the Christians were put so to theirs hifts by this crafty means, and so much in danger to decline into all ignorance, that the two Appolinarii were fain, as a man may say, to coin all the seven liberal sciences out of the Bible, reducing it into divers forms of orations, poems, dialogues, even to the calculating of a new Christian grammar.

But, saith the historian, Socrates, the providence of God provided better than the industry of Appolinarius and his son, by taking away that illiterate law with the life of him who devised it. So great an injury they then held it to be deprived of Hellenic learning; and thought it a persecution more undermining, and secretly decaying the church, than the open cruelty of Decius or Diocletian. And perhaps it was with the same politic drift that the devil whipped St. Jerome in a lenten dream, for reading Cicero; or else it was a phantasm, bred by the fever which had then seized him.* For had an angel been his discipliner, unless it were for dwelling too much on Ciceronianisms, and had chastised the reading, not the vanity, it had been plainly partial, first, to correct him for grave Cicero, and not for scurril Plautus, whom he confesses to have been reading not long before; next to correct him only, and let so many more ancient fathers wax old in those pleasant and florid studies, without the lash of such a tutoring apparition; insomuch that Basil teaches how some good use may be made of Margites, a sportful poem, not now extant, writ by Homer;† and why not then of Morgante, an Italian romance much to the same purpose?

professors of all the liberal arts; and the emperor, who reserved to himself the approbation of the candidates, was authorized by the laws to corrupt, or to punish, the religious constancy of the most learned of the Christians."

—(*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, iv. 111, 112, and note.)—ED.

* St. Jerome and the devil. St. Jerome is quite positive, however, it was not a dream: "Nec vero sopor ille fuerat, aut vana somnia, quibus sæpe deludimur;" and his reason is, that, on issuing from the vision, he found himself beaten black and blue, which had never happened, he says, in any former dream. It never occurred to him that in rolling about on his couch he might have bruised himself in several places, without the aid of a spirit, good or evil.—(*Opera*, t. iv. p. 42.)—ED.

† Aristotle, in his Poetics, and Plato,—if the Second Alcibrades be his,—attribute the Margites to Homer. (*Edit. Bekk.* ii. 291.) But, though this certainly proves the great antiquity of the poem, modern critics dispute its authenticity. There existed among the ancients another work on the same subject, written in alternate hexameter and trimeter verses, which, with the

But if it be agreed we shall be tried by visions, there is a vision recorded by Eusebius, far ancienter than this tale of Jerome, to the nun Eustochium, and besides, has nothing of a fever in it. Dionysius Alexandrinus was, about the year 240, a person of great name in the church, for piety and learning, who had wont to avail himself much against heretics, by being conversant in their books; until a certain presbyter laid it scrupulously to his conscience, how he durst venture himself among those defiling volumes. The worthy man, loath to give offence, fell into a new debate with himself, what was to be thought; when suddenly a vision sent from God (it is his own epistle that so avers it) confirmed him in these words: "Read any books whatever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judge aright, and to examine each matter." To this revelation he assented the sooner, as he confesses, because it was answerable to that of the apostle to the Thessalonians: "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good."

And he might have added another remarkable saying of the same author: "To the pure, all things are pure;" not only meats and drinks, but all kind of knowledge, whether of good or evil: the knowledge cannot defile, nor consequently the books, if the will and conscience be not defiled. For books are as meats and viands are; some of good, some of evil substance; and yet God in that unapocryphal vision said without exception, "Rise, Peter, kill and eat;" leaving the choice to each man's discretion. Wholesome meats to a vitiated stomach differ little or nothing from unwholesome; and best books to a naughty mind are not unapplicable to occasions of evil. Bad meats will scarce breed good nourishment in the healthiest concoction; but herein the difference is of bad books, that they to a discreet and judicious reader serve in many respects to discover, to confute, to forewarn, and to illustrate.* Whereof what better witness can ye expect I

Batrachomuomachia, was supposed to have been the production of Pigres of Halicarnassus, brother of that Artemisia who fought so bravely among the admirals of Xerxes.—(*Payne Knight, Prolegom. ad Homer. 5—7.*)—ED.

* On this point, in which the leading principle of the whole discourse is involved, Mr. Mitford, in his Life of Milton, has made several very judicious observations. "Dr. Johnson," he remarks, "considers the argument which it (the Areopagitica) discusses, to be of very difficult solution. I shall content myself with observing, that when a nation becomes sufficiently enlight-

should produce, than one of your own now sitting in parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in this land, Mr. Selden; whose volume of natural and national laws proves, not only by great authorities brought together, but by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea, errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service and assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest.

I conceive, therefore, that when God did enlarge the universal diet of man's body, (saving ever the rules of temperance,) he then also, as before, left arbitrary the dieting and repasting of our minds; as wherein every mature man might have to exercise his own leading capacity. How great a virtue is temperance, how much of moment through the whole life of man! Yet God commits the managing so great a trust, without particular law or prescription, wholly to the demeanour of every grown man. And therefore when he himself tabled the Jews from heaven, that omier, which was every man's daily portion of manna, is computed to have been more than might have well sufficed the heartiest feeder thrice as many meals. For those actions which enter into a man, rather than issue out of him, and therefore defile not, God uses not to captivate under a perpetual childhood of prescription, but trusts him with the gift of reason to be his own chooser; there were but little work left for preaching, if law and compulsion should grow so fast upon those things which heretofore were governed only by exhortation. Solomon informs us, that much reading is a weariness to the flesh; * but neither he, nor other inspired author, tells us that

ened to demand the removal of those restrictions of the press, which have been imposed when governments were arbitrary, and the people ignorant; the correction of the evils attendant on its liberty, must be found, not in the punishment of the offenders, but in the good sense and moral feeling of the community. It is in this way that virtue is stronger than vice, that truth triumphs over falsehood, and law is superior to offence. Johnson's observation, that 'if every sceptic in theology may teach his follies, there can be no religion,' falls to the ground, when it is remembered that *our religion was born amid disbelief and doubt, and has grown up and increased among every variety of heresy and form of scepticism that the ingenuity of man could devise.*" (p. xliv. xlv.)—ED.

* In that most pleasant book of Baxter, which he has entitled his "Dying Thoughts," there occurs a fine commentary on this text:—"Alas! how dear a vanity is this knowledge!" he exclaims. "That which is but theo-

such or such reading is unlawful; yet certainly had God thought good to limit us herein, it had been much more expedient to have told us what was unlawful, than what was wearisome.

As for the burning of those Ephesian books by St. Paul's converts; it is replied, the books were magic, the Syriac so renders them. It was a private act, a voluntary act, and leaves us to a voluntary imitation: the men in remorse burnt those books which were their own; the magistrate by this example is not appointed; these men practised the books, another might perhaps have read them in some sort usefully. Good and evil we know in the field of this world grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of good is so involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discerned, that those confused seeds which were imposed upon Pysche as an incessant labour to cull out, and sort asunder, were not more intermixed. It was from out the rind of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of good and evil, as two twins cleaving

retical and notional, is but a tickling delectation of the phantasy or mind, little differing from a pleasant dream: but how many hours, what gazing of the wearied eye, what stretching thoughts of the impatient brain must it cost us, if we will attain to an excellency! Well saith Solomon, 'Much reading is a weariness of the flesh;' and 'He that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow.' How many hundred studious days and weeks, and how many hard and tearing thoughts, hath my little, very little knowledge, cost me! And how much infirmity and painfulness to my flesh, increase of painful diseases, and loss of bodily ease and health! How much pleasure to myself of other kinds, and how much acceptance with men, have I lost by it, which I might easily have had in a more conversant and plausible way of life!" Yet, when he comes to enumerate the valuable and delightful things of which death must deprive him, mark how prominent a place is occupied by his books and studies. "When I die, I must depart, not only from sensual delights, but from the more manly pleasures of my studies, knowledge, and converse with many wise and godly men, and from all my pleasure in reading, hearing, public and private exercises of religion, &c. I must leave my library, and turn over those pleasant books no more: I must no more come among the living, nor see the faces of my faithful friends, nor be seen of man: houses and cities, and fields and countries, gardens and walks, will be nothing, as to me. I shall no more hear of the affairs of the world, of man, or wars, or other news, nor see what becomes of that beloved interest of wisdom, piety, and peace, which I desire may prosper." (p. 106—109. *Sacred Classics' edition.*) The volume is full of noble passages of this kind, which must render their author dear to all who love piety and eloquence.—ED.

together, leaped forth into the world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into of knowing good and evil— that is to say, of knowing good by evil.

As therefore the state of man now is; what wisdom can there be to choose, what continence to forbear, without the knowledge of evil? He that can apprehend and consider vice with all her baits and seeming pleasures, and yet abstain, and yet distinguish, and yet prefer that which is truly better, he is the true warfaring Christian. I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and seeks her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.* Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather; that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue therefore which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure;† her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness; which was the reason why our sage and serious poet Spenser, (whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas,) describing true temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon,‡ and the bower of earthly bliss, that he might see and know, and yet abstain.

Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely, and with less danger, scout into the regions of sin and falsity, than by reading all manner of tractates, and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read.

* “Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegisse juvat; metaque fervidis
Evitata rotis, palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos.”—(*Horat.* i. 1.)—ED.

† He had here, perhaps, in his mind Plato's beau ideal of a judge: an old man who, in advancing through his long career, has, by observing the conduct of others, obtained a thorough knowledge of vice and injustice, without ever suffering the slightest taint of either to appear on his own soul.—(*De Republica*, l. iii. *Opera*, t. vi. p. 150.)—ED.

‡ See Sir Guion's descent into the Cave of Mammon in the *Faëry Queen*, B. ii. Canto 7.—ED.

But of the harm that may result hence, three kinds are usually reckoned. First, is feared the infection that may spread; but then, all human learning and controversy in religious points must remove out of the world, yea, the Bible itself; for that oftentimes relates blasphemy not nicely, it describes the carnal sense of wicked men not unelegantly, it brings in holiest men passionately murmuring against Providence through all the arguments of Epicurus: * in other great disputes it answers dubiously and darkly to the common reader; and ask a Talmudist what ails the modesty of his marginal Keri, that Moses and all the prophets cannot persuade him to pronounce the textual Chetiv. For these causes we all know the Bible itself put by the papist into the first rank of prohibited books. The ancientest fathers must be next removed, as Clement of Alexandria, and that Eusebian book of evangelic preparation, transmitting our ears through a hoard of heathenish obscenities to receive the gospel. Who finds not that Irenæus, Epiphanius, Jerome, and others discover more heresies than they well confute, and that oft for heresy which is the truer opinion?

Nor boots it to say for these, and all the heathen writers of greatest infection, if it must be thought so, with whom is bound up the life of human learning, that they wrote in an unknown tongue, so long as we are sure those languages are known as well to the worst of men, who are both most able and most diligent to instil the poison they suck, first into the courts of princes, acquainting them with the choicest delights, and criticisms of sin. As perhaps did that Petronius, whom Nero called his arbiter, the master of his revels; and that notorious ribald of Arezzo,† dreaded and yet dear to the Italian courtiers. I name not him, for posterity's sake, whom Henry the Eighth named in merriment his vicar of hell. By which compendious way all the contagion that foreign books can infuse will find a passage to the people far easier and shorter than an Indian voyage, though it could be sailed either by the north of Cataio eastward, or of Canada west-

* More particularly in the Book of Ecclesiastes.—ED.

† Time has now so effectually buried his profligate writings in oblivion, that few, but bibliographers, appear to know of their existence. In fact, mankind are generally so just, and endued with so fine a feeling for whatever is excellent, that scarcely any but good works survive; contempt and neglect at length overwhelm all others.—ED.

ward, while our Spanish licensing gags the English press never so severely.

But, on the other side, that infection which is from books of controversy in religion, is more doubtful and dangerous to the learned than to the ignorant; and yet those books must be permitted untouched by the licenser. It will be hard to instance where any ignorant man hath been ever seduced by any papistical book in English, unless it were commended and expounded to him by some of that clergy; and indeed all such tractates, whether false or true, are as the prophecy of Isaiah was to the eunuch, not to be "understood without a guide." But of our priests and doctors how many have been corrupted by studying the comments of Jesuits and Sorbonists, and how fast they could transfuse that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and sad. It is not forgot, since the acute and distinct Arminius was perverted merely by the perusing of a nameless discourse written at Delft, which at first he took in hand to confute.

Seeing therefore that those books, and those in great abundance, which are likeliest to taint both life and doctrine, cannot be suppressed without the fall of learning, and of all ability in disputation, and that these books of either sort are most and soonest catching to the learned, (from whom to the common people whatever is heretical or dissolute may quickly be conveyed,) and that evil manners are as perfectly learnt without books a thousand other ways which cannot be stopped, and evil doctrine not with books can propagate, except a teacher guide, which he might also do without writing, and so beyond prohibiting; I am not unable to unfold, how this cautious enterprise of licensing can be exempted from the number of vain and impossible attempts. And he who were pleasantly disposed, could not well avoid to liken it to the exploit of that gallant man, who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his park gate.

Besides another inconvenience, if learned men be the first receivers out of books, and dispreaders both of vice and error, how shall the licensers themselves be confided in, unless we can confer upon them, or they assume to themselves, above all others in the land, the grace of infallibility and uncorruptedness? And again, if it be true, that a wise man, like a good refiner, can gather gold out of the drossiest vo-

lume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best book, yea, or without book; there is no reason that we should deprive a wise man of any advantage to his wisdom, while we seek to restrain from a fool that which being restrained will be no hinderance to his folly. For if there should be so much exactness always used to keep that from him which is unfit for his reading, we should in the judgment of Aristotle not only, but of Solomon, and of our Saviour, not vouchsafe him good precepts, and by consequence not willingly admit him to good books; as being certain that a wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, than a fool will do of sacred scripture.

It is next alleged, we must not expose ourselves to temptations without necessity, and next to that, not employ our time in vain things. To both these objections one answer will serve, out of the grounds already laid, that to all men such books are not temptations, nor vanities; but useful drugs and materials wherewith to temper and compose effective and strong medicines, which man's life cannot want.* The rest, as children and childish men, who have not the art to qualify and prepare these working minerals, well may be exhorted to forbear; but hindered forcibly they cannot be, by all the licensing that sainted inquisition could ever yet contrive; which is what I promised to deliver next: that this order of licensing conduces nothing to the end for which it was framed; and hath almost prevented me by being clear already while thus much hath been explaining. See the ingenuity of truth, who, when she gets a free and willing hand, opens herself faster than the pace of method and discourse can overtake her. It was the task which I began with, to shew that no nation, or well instituted state, if they valued books at all, did ever use this way of licensing; and it might be answered, that this is a piece of prudence lately discovered.

To which I return, that as it was a thing slight and obvious to think on, so if it had been difficult to find out, there wanted not among them long since, who suggested such a course; which they not following, leave us a pattern of their judgment that it was not the not knowing, but the not approving, which was the cause of their not using it. Plato, a man of high authority indeed, but least of all for his Com-

* That is, cannot dispense with.—ED.

monwealth, in the book of his laws, which no city ever yet received, fed his fancy with making many edicts to his airy burgomasters, which they who otherwise admire him, wish had been rather buried and excused in the genial cups of an academic night sitting.* By which laws he seems to tolerate no kind of learning, but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practical traditions, to the attainment whereof a library of smaller bulk than his own dialogues would be abundant. And there also enacts, that no poet should so much as read to any private man what he had written, until the judges and law keepers had seen it, and allowed it; but that Plato meant this law peculiarly to that commonwealth which he had imagined, and to no other, is evident. Why was he not else a lawgiver to himself, but a transgressor, and to be expelled by his own magistrates, both for the wanton epigrams and dialogues which he made, and his perpetual reading of Sophron Mimus and Aristophanes, books of grossest infamy; and also for commanding the latter of them, though he were the malicious libeller of his chief friends, to be read by the tyrant Dionysius, who had little need of such trash to spend his time on? But that he knew this licensing of poems had reference and dependence to many other provisoos there set down in his fancied republic, which in this world could have no place; and so neither he himself, nor any magistrate or city, ever imitated that course, which, taken apart from those other collateral injunctions, must needs be vain and fruitless.

For if they fell upon one kind of strictness, unless their

* This, whether understood of the "Republic," or the "Laws," of Plato, must be taken jocularly, or as the disparaging argument of a rhetorician. For who, though he may regard the philosopher's scheme as impracticable, and be glad that it is so,—would consent, if it depended on his will, to annihilate those extraordinary productions, teeming with original thoughts and bold speculations, which fall on the mind of the reader like fertilizing dew? We admit, however, with Aristotle, that Plato's plan of a republic is the most remote from actual politics that has ever been imagined. No other legislator has proposed a community of wives,—though something of the kind exists in India among the Nairs,—or a community of property, or common tables for the women. Phaleas of Chalcedon,—"the City of the Blind,"—who flourished about 600 years B. C. was the first writer who recommended the equalization of property; but Aristotle himself, together with Solon, and the Legislator of the Locrians, considered an approach to something like equality of possessions highly conducive to the happiness of civil society.—(*Politics*, l. ii. c. 5.)—ED.

care were equal to regulate all other things of like aptness to corrupt the mind, that single endeavour they knew would be but a fond labour ; to shut and fortify one gate against corruption, and be necessitated to leave others round about wide open. If we think to regulate printing, thereby to rectify manners, we must regulate all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. No music must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and doric. There must be licensing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth, but what by their allowance shall be thought honest ; for such Plato was provided of. It will ask more than the work of twenty licensers to examine all the lutes, the violins, and the guitars in every house ; they must not be suffered to prattle as they do, but must be licensed what they may say. And who shall silence all the airs and madrigals that whisper softness in chambers ? The windows also, and the balconies, must be thought on ; these are shrewd books, with dangerous frontispieces, set to sale : who shall prohibit them, shall twenty licensers ? The villages also must have their visitors to inquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebec reads, even to the balladry and the gamut of every municipal fiddler ; for these are the country-man's Arcadias, and his Monte Mayors.

Next, what more national corruption, for which England hears ill abroad, than household gluttony ? Who shall be the rectors of our daily rioting ? And what shall be done to inhibit the multitudes that frequent those houses where drunkenness * is sold and harboured ? Our garments also should be referred to the licensing of some more sober work-masters, to see them cut into a less wanton garb. Who shall regulate all the mixed conversation of our youth, male and female together, as is the fashion of this country ? Who shall still appoint what shall be discoursed, what presumed, and no further ? Lastly, who shall forbid and separate all idle resort, all evil company ? These things will be, and must be ; but how they shall be least hurtful, how least enticing, herein consists the grave and governing wisdom of a state.

* Many of the evils that afflict society are indestructible ; and among these must be reckoned the public resorts of drunkenness and debauchery. Obliterated, it seems, they cannot be : but what Government has done all that might be done to reduce the evil as far as possible ? Yet the force of civil and religious instruction is in their hands.—ED.

To sequester out of the world into Atlantic and Utopian politics, which never can be drawn into use, will not friend our condition ; but to ordain wisely as in this world of evil, in the midst whereof God hath placed us unavoidably. Nor is it Plato's licensing of books will do this, which necessarily pulls along with it so many other kinds of licensing, as will make us all both ridiculous and weary, and yet frustrate ; but those unwritten, or at least unconstraining laws of virtuous education, religious and civil nurture, which Plato there mentions, as the bonds and ligaments of the commonwealth, the pillars and the sustainers of every written statute ; these they be, which will bear chief sway in such matters as these, when all licensing will be easily eluded. Impunity and remissness for certain are the bane of a commonwealth ; but here the great art lies, to discern in what the law is to bid restraint and punishment, and in what things persuasion only is to work. If every action which is good or evil in man at ripe years were to be under pittance, prescription, and compulsion, what were virtue but a name, what praise could be then due to well doing, what gramercy to be sober, just, or continent ?

Many there be that complain of divine Providence for suffering Adam to transgress. Foolish tongues ! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing ;* he had been else a mere artificial Adam, such an Adam as he is in the motions. We ourselves esteem not of that obedience, or love, or gift, which is of force ; God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object ever almost in his eyes ; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherfore did he create passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly tempered are the very ingredients of virtue ? They are not skilful considerers of human things, who imagine to remove sin, by removing the matter of sin ; for, besides that it is a huge heap increasing under the very act of diminishing, though some part of it may for a time be withdrawn from some persons, it cannot

* See, on the abstruse question here glanced at, Hobbes's Treatise on Liberty and Necessity ; the Leviathan, chap. xxi. ; Bramhall's Reply ; and Locke's profound investigation, Essay on the Human Understanding, book ii. c. 21.—ED.

from all, in such a universal thing as books are ; and when this is done, yet the sin remains entire. Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetousness. Banish all objects of lust, shut up all youth into the severest discipline that can be exercised in any hermitage, ye cannot make them chaste, that came not thither so : such great care and wisdom is required to the right managing of this point.

Suppose we could expel sin by this means; look how much we thus expel of sin, so much we expel of virtue : for the matter of them both is the same : remove that, and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high providence of God, who, though he commands us temperance, justice, continence, yet pours out before us even to a profuseness all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then affect a rigour contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted, are both to the trial of virtue, and the exercise of truth ?

It would be better done, to learn that the law must needs be frivolous, which goes to restrain things, uncertainly and yet equally working to good and to evil. And were I the chooser, a dram of well-doing should be preferred before many times as much the forcible hinderance of evil doing. For God sure esteems the growth and completing of one virtuous person, more than the restraint of ten vicious. And albeit, whatever thing we hear or see, sitting, walking, travelling, or conversing, may be fitly called our book, and is of the same effect that writings are ; yet grant the thing to be prohibited were only books, it appears that this order hitherto is far insufficient to the end which it intends. Do we not see, not once or oftener, but weekly, that continued court-libel * against the parliament and city, printed, as the wet sheets can witness, and dispersed among us for all that licensing

* Court-libel. No doubt he intended the "Mercurius Aulicus;" written by Sir John Birkenhead, which was printed weekly, in one sheet, and sometimes more, in quarto ; and was chiefly calculated to raise the reputation of the king's friends and commanders, and run down and ridicule those who sided with the Parliament. They came out regularly, from the beginning of 1642 to the latter end of 1645, and afterwards occasionally.—(Biog. Brit. art. Birkenhead.) Holt White.—ED.

can do? Yet this is the prime service a man would think wherein this order should give proof of itself. If it were executed, you will say. But certain, if execution be remiss or blindfold now, and in this particular, what will it be hereafter, and in other books?

If then the order shall not be vain and frustrate, behold a new labour, lords and commons, ye must repeal and proscribe all scandalous and unlicensed books already printed and divulged; after ye have drawn them up into a list, that all may know which are condemned, and which not; and ordain that no foreign books be delivered out of custody, till they have been read over. This office will require the whole time of not a few overseers, and those no vulgar men. There be also books which are partly useful and excellent, partly culpable and pernicious; this work will ask as many more officials, to make expurgations and expunctions, that the commonwealth of learning be not damnified. In fine, when the multitude of books increase upon their hands, ye must be fain to catalogue all those printers who are found frequently offending, and forbid the importation of their whole suspected typography. In a word, that this your order may be exact, and not deficient, ye must reform it perfectly, according to the model of Trent and Sevil, which I know ye abhor to do.

Yet though ye should condescend to this, which God forbid, the order still would be but fruitless and defective to that end whereto ye meant it. If to prevent sects and schisms, who is so unread or uncatechised in story, that hath not heard of many sects refusing books as a hinderance, and preserving their doctrine unmixed for many ages, only by unwritten traditions? The Christian faith (for that was once a schism!) is not unknown to have spread all over Asia, ere any gospel or epistle was seen in writing. If the amendment of manners be aimed at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple the better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitional rigour that hath been executed upon books.

Another reason, whereby to make it plain that this order will miss the end it seeks, consider by the quality which ought to be in every licenser. It cannot be denied, but that he who is made judge to sit upon the birth or death of books,

whether they may be wafted into this world or not, had need to be a man above the common measure, both studious, learned, and judicious; there may be else no mean mistakes in the censure of what is passable or not; which is also no mean injury. If he be of such worth as behoves him, there cannot be a more tedious and unpleasing journeywork, a greater loss of time levied upon his head, than to be made the perpetual reader of unchosen books and pamphlets, oftentimes huge volumes. There is no book that is acceptable, unless at certain seasons; but to be enjoined the reading of that at all times, and in a hand scarce legible, whereof three pages would not down at any time in the fairest print, is an imposition I cannot believe how he that values time, and his own studies, or is but of a sensible nostril, should be able to endure. In this one thing I crave leave of the present licensers to be pardoned for so thinking: who doubtless took this office up, looking on it through their obedience to the parliament, whose command perhaps made all things seem easy and unlabourious to them; but that this short trial hath wearied them out already, their own expressions and excuses to them who make so many journeys to solicit their licence, are testimony enough. Seeing therefore those, who now possess the employment, by all evident signs wish themselves well rid of it, and that no man of worth, none that is not a plain unthrift of his own hours, is ever likely to succeed them, except he mean to put himself to the salary of a press corrector, we may easily foresee what kind of licensers we are to expect hereafter, either ignorant, imperious, and remiss, or basely pecuniary. This is what I had to show, wherin this order cannot conduce to that end whereof it bears the intention.

I lastly proceed from the no good it can do, to the manifest hurt it causes, in being first the greatest discouragement and affront that can be offered to learning and to learned men. It was the complaint and lamentation of prelates, upon every least of a motion to remove pluralities, and distribute more equally church revenues, that then all learning would be for ever dashed and discouraged. But as for that opinion, I never found cause to think that the tenth part of learning stood or fell with the clergy: nor could I ever but hold it for a sordid and unworthy speech of any churchman, who had a competency left

him* If therefore ye be loath to dishearten utterly and discontent, not the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born to study and love learning for itself, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise, which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advance the good of mankind: then know, that so far to distrust the judgment and the honesty of one who hath but a common repute in learning, and never yet offended, as not to count him fit to print his mind without a tutor and examiner, lest he should drop a schism, or something of corruption, is the greatest displeasure and indignity to a free and knowing spirit that can be put upon him.

What advantage is it to be a man, over it is to be a boy at school, if we have only escaped the ferula, to come under the fescue of an imprimatur? if serious and elaborate writings, as if they were no more than the theme of a grammar-lad under his pedagogue, must not be uttered without the cursory eyes of a temporizing and extemporizing licenser? He who is not trusted with his own actions, his drift not being known to be evil, and standing to the hazard of law and penalty, has no great argument to think himself reputed in the commonwealth wherein he was born for other than a fool or a foreigner. When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him; he searches, meditates, is industrious, and likely consults and confers with his judicious friends; after all which done, he takes himself to be informed in what he writes, as well as any that wrote before him; if in this, the most consummate act of his fidelity and ripeness, no years, no industry, no former proof of his abilities, can bring him to that state of maturity, as not to be still mistrusted and suspected, unless he carry all his considerate diligence, all his midnight watchings, and expense of Palladian oil, to the hasty view of an unleisured licenser, perhaps much his younger, perhaps far his inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of bookwriting; and if he be not repulsed, or slighted, must appear in print like a

* He had already, in his Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence, inveighed with great vehemence against the supposition that the riches of the church were the support of learning.—ED

puny with his guardian, and his censor's hand on the back of his title to be his bail and surety, that he is no idiot or seducer; it cannot be but a dishonour and derogation to the author, to the book, to the privilege and dignity of learning.

And what if the author shall be one so copious of fancy, as to have many things well worth the adding, come into his mind after licensing, while the book is yet under the press, which not seldom happens to the best and diligentest writers; and that perhaps a dozen times in one book. The printer dares not go beyond his licensed copy; so often then must the author trudge to his leave-giver, that those his new insertions may be viewed; and many a jaunt will be made, ere that licenser, for it must be the same man, can either be found, or found at leisure; meanwhile either the press must stand still, which is no small damage, or the author lose his accuratest thoughts, and send the book forth worse than he had made it, which to a diligent writer is the greatest melancholy and vexation that can befall.

And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching; how can he be a doctor in his book, as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licenser, to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hide-bound humour which he calls his judgment? When every acute reader, upon the first sight of a pedantic licence, will be ready with these like words to ding the book a quoit's distance from him:—"I hate a pupil teacher; I endure not an instructor that comes to me under the wardship of an overseeing fist. I know nothing of the licenser, but that I have his own hand here for his arrogance; who shall warrant me his judgment?" "The state, sir," replies, the statfoner: but has a quick return:—"The state shall be my governors, but not my critics; they may be mistaken in the choice of a licenser, as easily as this licenser may be mistaken in an author. This is some common stuff:" and he might add from Sir Francis Bacon, that "such authorized books are but the language of the times." For though a licenser should happen to be judicious more than ordinary, which will be a great jeopardy of the next succession, yet his very office and his commission enjoins him to let pass nothing but what is vulgarly received already.

Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his lifetime, and even to this day, comes to their hands for licence to be printed, or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous edge, uttered in the height of zeal, (and who knows whether it might not be the dictate of a divine spirit?) yet, not suiting with every low decrepit humour of their own, though it were Knox himself, the reformer of a kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash; the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost, for the fearfulness, or the presumptuous rashness of a perfunctory licenser. And to what an author this violence hath been lately done, and in what book,* of greatest consequence to be faithfully published, I could now instance, but shal forbear till a more convenient season. Yet if these things be not resented seriously and timely by them who have the remedy in their power, but that such ironmoulds as these shall have authority to gnaw out the choicest periods or exquisitest books, and to commit such a treacherous fraud against the orphan remainders of worthiest men after death, the more sorrow will belong to that hapless race of men, whose misfortune it is to have understanding. Henceforth let no man care to learn, or care to be more than worldly wise; for certainly in higher matters to be ignorant and slothful, to be a common steadfast dunce, will be the only pleasant life, and only in request.

And as it is a particular disesteem of every knowing person alive, and most injurious to the written labours and monuments of the dead, so to me it seems an undervaluing and vilifying of the whole nation. I cannot set so light by all the invention, the art, the wit, the grave and solid judgment which is in England,† as that it can be comprehended in any

* Holt White conjectures that the work here alluded to was the posthumous portion of Coke's Institutes, first printed in 1641.—ED.

† In his Reason of Church Government, (b. i. c. 7,) he speaks with becoming respect of the intellectual powers and moral character of his countrymen. “The Englishman, of many other nations, is least atheistical, and bears a natural disposition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity.” And “if he get the benefit once of a wise and well rectified nurture, which must first come in general from the godly vigilance of the church, I suppose that wherever mention is made of countries, manners, or men, the English people, among the first that shall be praised, may deserve to be

twenty capacities, how good soever ; much less that it should not pass except their superintendence be over it, except it be sifted and strained with their strainers, that it should be uncurrent without their manual stamp. Truth and understanding are not such wares as to be monopolized and traded in by tickets, and statutes, and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and license it like our broad-cloth and our woolpacks. What is it but a servitude like that imposed by the Philistines, not to be allowed the sharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licensing forges ?

Had any one written and divulged erroneous things and scandalous to honest life, misusing and forfeiting the esteem had of his reason among men, if after conviction this only censure were adjudged him, that he should never henceforth write, but what were first examined by an appointed officer, whose hand should be annexed to pass his credit for him, that now he might be safely read ; it could not be apprehended less than a disgraceful punishment. Whence to include the whole nation, and those that never yet thus offended, under such a diffident and suspectful prohibition, may plainly be understood what a disparagement it is. So much the more whenas debtors and delinquents may walk abroad without a keeper, but unoffensive books must not stir forth without a visible jailor in their title. Nor is it to the common people less than a reproach ; for if we be so jealous over them, as that we dare not trust them with an English pamphlet, what do we but censure them for a giddy, vicious, and ungrounded people ; in such a sick and weak state of faith and discretion, as to be able to take nothing down but through the pipe of a licenser ? That this is care or love of them, we cannot pretend, whenas in those popish places, where the laity are most hated and despised, the same strictness is used over them. Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but one breach of licence, nor that neither : whenas

accounted a right pious, right honest, and right hardy nation." In the commencement of the third book of the "History of England," he, indeed, denies the English the possession of civil wisdom ; but he had then been disgusted, as well he might, by the inconceivable follies of the Restoration.

—ED.

those corruptions, which it seeks to prevent, break in faster at other doors, which cannot be shut.

And in conclusion it reflects to the disrepute of our ministers also, of whose labours we should hope better, and of their proficiency which their flock reaps by them, than that after all this light of the gospel which is, and is to be, and all this continual preaching, they should be still frequented with such an unprincipled, unedified, and laic rabble, as that the whiff of every new pamphlet should stagger them out of their catechism and Christian walking. This may have much reason to discourage the ministers, when such a low conceit is had of all their exhortations, and the benefiting of their hearers, as that they are not thought fit to be turned loose to three sheets of paper without a licenser; that all the sermons, all the lectures preached, printed, vended in such numbers, and such volumes, as have now well-nigh made all other books unsaleable, should not bear enough against one single Enchiridion, without the castle of St. Angelo of an imprimatur.

And least some should persuade ye, lords and commons, that these arguments of learned men's discouragement at this your order are mere flourishes, and not real, I could recount what I have seen and heard in other countries, where this kind of inquisition tyrannizes; when I have set among their learned men, (for that honour I had,) and been counted happy to be born in such a place of philosophic freedom, as they supposed England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servile condition into which learning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits; that nothing had been there written now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo,* grown old, a prisoner to the inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the prelatical yoke, nevertheless I took it as a pledge

* This passage might have been expected to decide the question whether Galileo was in prison when Milton visited him; but, unfortunately, it throws not sufficient light upon the subject, though the construction of the sentence seems to favour the idea that he was still, when the poet saw him, a captive.—ED.

of future happiness, that other nations were so persuaded of her liberty.

Yet was it beyond my hope, that those worthies were then breathing in her air, who should be her leaders to such a deliverance, as shall never be forgotten by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish. When that was once begun, it was as little in my fear, that what words of complaint I heard among learned men of other parts uttered against the inquisition, the same I should hear, by as learned men at home, uttered in time of parliament against an order of licensing; and that so generally, that when I had disclosed myself a companion of their discontent, I might say, if without envy, that he whom an honest quæstorship had endeared to the Sicilians, was not more by them importuned against Verres, than the favourable opinion which I had among many who honour ye, and are known and respected by ye, loaded me with entreaties and persuasions, that I could not despair to lay together that which just reason should bring into my mind, towards the removal of an undeserved thralldom upon learning.

That this is not therefore the disburdening of a particular fancy, but the common grievance of all those who had prepared their minds and studies above the vulgar pitch, to advance truth in others, and from others to entertain it, thus much may satisfy. And in their name I shall for neither friend nor foe conceal what the general murmur is; that if it come to inquisitioning again, and licensing, and that we are so timorous of ourselves, and suspicious of all men, as to fear each book, and the shaking of each leaf, before we know what the contents are; if some who but of late were little better than silenced from preaching, shall come now to silence us from reading, except what they please, it cannot be guessed what is intended by some but a second tyranny over learning: and will soon put it out of controversy, that bishops and presbyters are the same to us, both name and thing.

That those evils of prelacy which before from five or six and twenty sees were distributively charged upon the whole people will now light wholly upon learning, is not obscure to us: whenas now the pastor of a small unlearned parish, on the sudden shall be exalted archbishop over a large dio-

cess of books, and yet not remove, but keep his other cure too, a mystical pluralist. He who but of late cried down the sole ordination of every novice bachelor of art, and denied sole jurisdiction over the simplest parishioner, shall now at home in his private chair, assume both these over worthiest and excellentest books, and ablest authors that write them. This is not the covenants and protestations that we have made ! This is not to put down prelacy ; this is but to chop an episcopacy ; this is but to translate the palace metropolitan from one kind of dominion into another ; this is but an old canonical sleight of commuting our penance. To startle thus betimes at a mere unlicensed pamphlet, will, after a while, be afraid of every conventicle, and a while after will make a conventicle of every Christian meeting.

But I am certain, that a state governed by the rules of justice and fortitude, or a church built and founded upon the rock of faith and true knowledge, cannot be so pusillanimous. While things are yet not constituted in religion, that freedom of writing should be restrained by a discipline imitated from the prelates, and learned by them from the inquisition to shut us up all again into the breast of a licenser, must needs give cause of doubt and discouragement to all learned and religious men ; who cannot but discern the fineness of this politic drift, and who are the contrivers ; that while bishops were to be baited down, then all presses might be open ; it was the people's birthright and privilege in time of parliament, it was the breaking forth of light.

But now the bishops abrogated and voided out of the church, as if our reformation sought no more, but to make room for others into their seats under another name ; the episcopal arts begin to bud again ; the cruise of truth must run no more oil ; liberty of printing must be enthralled again, under a pre-latical commission of twenty ; the privilege of the people nullified ; and, which is worse, the freedom of learning must groan again, and to her old fetters : all this the parliament yet sitting. Although their own late arguments and defences against the prelates might remember them, that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at : instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation : “The punishing of wits enhances their authority,”

saith the Viscount St. Albans ; “and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth, that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out.” This order, therefore, may prove a nursing mother to sects, but I shall easily shew how it will be stepdame to truth : and first, by dis-enabling us to the maintenance of what is known already.

Well knows he who uses to consider, that our faith and knowledge thrives by exercise, as well as our limbs and complexion. Truth is compared in scripture to a streaming fountain ; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition. A man may be a heretic in the truth ; and if he believe things only because his pastor says so, or the assembly so determines, without knowing other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy.* There is not any burden that some would gladlier post off to another, than the charge and care of their religion. There be, who knows not that there be ? of protestants and professors, who live and die in as errant and implicit faith, as any lay papist of Loretto.

A wealthy man, addicted to his pleasure and to his profits, finds religion to be a traffic so entangled, and of so many pid-dling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot skill to keep a stock going upon that trade. What should he do ? Fain he would have the name to be religious, fain he would bear up with his neighbours in that. What does he therefore, but resolves to give over toiling, and to find himself out some factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole managing of his religious affairs ; some divine of note and estimation that must be. To him he adheres, resigns the whole warehouse of his religion, with all the locks and keys, into his custody ; and indeed makes the very person of that man his religion ; esteems his associating with him a sufficient evidence and commendatory of his own piety. So that a man may say his religion is now no more within himself,

* In the same spirit Locke observes : “One may truly say, that there are very few lovers of truth for truth-sake, even amongst those who persuade themselves they are so. How a man may know whether he be so in earnest, is worth inquiry ; and I think there is one unerring mark of it, viz., the not entertaining any proposition with greater assurance than the proofs it is built upon will warrant. Whoever goes beyond this measure of assent, it is plain, receives not truth in the love of it ; loves not truth for truth-sake, but for some other by-end.”—(*Essay on the Human Understanding*, b. iv. ch. 19.)—ED.

but is become a dividual moveable, and goes and comes near him, according as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him ; his religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally supped, and sumptuously laid to sleep ; rises, is saluted, and after the malmsey, or some well-spiced bruage, and better breakfasted, than He whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between Bethany and Jerusalem, his religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the shop trading all day without his religion.

Another sort there be, who when they hear that all things shall be ordered, all things regulated and settled ; nothing written but what passes through the custom-house of certain publicans that have the tonnaging and poundaging of all free-spoken truth, will straight give themselves up into your hands, make them and cut them out what religion ye please : there be delights, there be recreations and jolly pastimes, that will fetch the day about from sun to sun, and rock the tedious year as in a delightful dream. What need they torture their heads with that which others have taken so strictly, and so unalterably into their own purveying ? These are the fruits which a dull ease and cessation of our knowledge will bring forth among the people. How goodly, and how to be wished were such an obedient unanimity as this ! What a fine conformity would it starch us all into ! Doubtless a staunch and solid piece of framework, as any January could freeze together.

Nor much better will be the consequence even among the clergy themselves : it is no new thing never heard of before, for a parochial minister, who has his reward, and is at his Hercules' pillars in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable, if he have nothing else that may rouse up his studies, to finish his circuit in an English Concordance and a topic folio, the gatherings and savings of a sober graduateship, a Harmony and a Catena, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinal heads, attended with their uses, motives, marks, and means ; out of which, as out of an alphabet or sol-fa, by forming and transforming, joining and disjoining variously, a little bookcraft, and two hours' meditation, might furnish him unspeakably to the performance of more than a weekly charge of sermoning : not to reckon up the

infinite helps of interliniaries, breviaries, synopses, and other loitering gear.* But as for the multitude of sermons ready printed and piled up, on every text that is not difficult, our London trading St. Thomas in his vestry, and add to boot St. Martin and St. Hugh, have not within their hallowed limits more vendible ware of all sorts ready made: so that penury he never need fear of pulpit provision, having where so plenteously to refresh his magazine. But if his rear and flanks be not impaled, if his back door be not secured by the rigid licenser, but that a bold book may now and then issue forth, and give the assault to some of his old collections in

* In a curious old book, entitled "Microcosmographie, or a Piece of the World discovered," we have the following picture of what the author terms "a young raw preacher," who, he says, "is a bird not yet fledged, that hath hopped out of his nest to be chirping on a hedge, and will be straggling abroad at what peril soever. His backwardness in the university hath set him thus forward; for had he not truanted there, he had not been so hasty a divine. His small standing and time hath made him a proficient only in boldness, out of which and his table-book, he is furnished for a preacher. His collections of study are the notes of sermons, which, taken up at St. Mary's, he utters in the country. And if he write Brachigraphy, his stock is so much the better. His writing is more than his reading; for he reads only what he gets without book. Thus accomplished, he comes down to his friends, and his first salutation is grace and peace out of the pulpit. His prayer is conceited, and no man remembers his college more at large. The pace of his sermon is a full career, and he runs wildly over hill and dale until the clock stop him. The labours of it is chiefly in his lungs; and the only thing he has made of it himself is the faces. He takes on against the pope without mercy, and has a jest still in lavender for Bellarmine. His action is all passion, and his speech interjections: he has an excellent faculty in bemoaning the people, and spits with a very good grace. He will not draw his handkerchief out of its place, nor blow his nose without discretion. His commendation is, that he never looks upon book, and indeed he was never used to it. He preaches but once a-year, though twice on Sunday: for the stuff is still the same, only the dressing a little altered. He has more tricks with a sermon, than a tailor with an old cloak, to turn it, and piece it, and at last quite disguise it with a new preface. If he has waded further in his profession, and would show reading of his own, his authors are postils, and his school divinity a catechism. His fashion and demure habit get him in with some town-precision, and make him a guest on Friday nights. You shall know him by his narrow velvet cape, and serge facing, and his ruff, next his hair, the shortest thing about him. The companion of his walks is some zealous tradesman, whom he astonisheth with strange points, which they both understand alike. His friends, and much painfulness, may prefer him to thirty pounds a-year; and this means, to a chamber-maid: with whom we leave him now in the bonds of wedlock. Next Sunday you shall have him again."—ED.

their trenches, it will concern him then to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and sentinels about his received opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow-inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock be seduced who also then would be better instructed, better exercised, and disciplined. And God send that the fear of this diligence, which must then be used, do not make us affect the laziness of a licensing church ?

For if we be sure we are in the right, and do not hold the truth guiltily, which becomes not, if we ourselves condemn not our own weak and frivolous teaching, and the people for an untaught and irreligious gadding route ; what can be more fair, than when a man judicious, learned, and of a conscience, for aught we know, as good as theirs that taught us what we know, shall not privily from house to house, which is more dangerous, but openly by writing, publish to the world what his opinion is, what his reasons, and wherefore that which is now thought cannot be sound ? Christ urged it as wherewith to justify himself, that he preached in public ; yet writing is more public than preaching ; and more easy to refutation if need be, there being so many whose business and profession merely it is to be the champions of truth ; which if they neglect, what can be imputed but their sloth or inability ?

Thus much we are hindered and disinured by this course of licensing towards the true knowledge of what we seem to know. For how much it hurts and hinders the licensers themselves in the calling of their ministry, more than any secular employment, if they will discharge that office as they ought, so that of necessity they must neglect either the one duty or the other, I insist not, because it is a particular, but leave it to their own conscience, how they will decide it there.

There is yet behind of what I purposed to lay open, the incredible loss and detriment that this plot of licensing puts us to, more than if some enemy at sea should stop up all our havens, and ports, and creeks ; it hinders and retards the importation of our richest merchandise,—truth : nay, it was first established and put in practice by anti-christian malice and mystery, or set purpose to extinguish, if it were possible, the light of reformation, and to settle falsehood ; little differ-

ing from that policy wherewith the Turk upholds his Alcoran, by the prohibiting of printing.* It is not denied, but gladly confessed, we are to send our thanks and vows to heaven, louder than most of nations, for that great measure of truth which we enjoy, especially in those main points between us and the pope, with his appurtenances the prelates: but he who thinks we are to pitch our tent here, and have attained the utmost prospect of reformation that the mortal glass wherein we contemplate can shew us, till we come to beatific vision, that man by this very opinion declares that he is yet far short of truth.

Truth indeed came once into the world with her divine master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on: but when he ascended, and his apostles after him were laid asleep, then straight arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as that story goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris, took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scattered them to the four winds.† From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the careful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, lords and commons, nor ever shall do, till her Master's second coming; he shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection. Suffer not these licensing prohibitions to stand at every place of opportunity forbidding and disturbing them that continue seeking, that continue to do our obsequies to the torn body of our martyred saint.

We boast our light; but if we look not wisely on the sun itself, it smites us into darkness. Who can discern those

* We have lived to witness a change even in the Turkish policy on this question. Abdoul Hamid sought to derive from the press a powerful means of civilizing his subjects; but was defeated by bigotry. Mahmood has pursued the same policy with better success; and we have ourselves beheld with pleasure this great palladium of knowledge at work within the palace of a Turkish prince. It was not merely in support of their religion, however, that the more ancient sultans prohibited the introduction of printing: "Le Grand Turc s'est bien avise de cela-que les livres et la doctrine donnent plus que toute autre chose, aux hommes, le sens de se reconnoître, et de haïr la tyrannie."—(*La Beote, Discours sur la Servitude Volontaire.*)—ED.

† On this curious fable, see Plutarch's Treatise on Iota and Quiris.—ED.

planets that are oft combust, and those stars of brightest magnitude that rise and set with the sun, until the opposite motion of their orbs bring them to such a place in the firmament, where they may be seen evening or morning? The light which we have gained was given us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge. It is not the unfrocking of a priest, the unmitring of a bishop, and the removing him from off the presbyterian shoulders, that will make us a happy nation: no; if other things as great in the church, and in the rule of life both economical and political, be not looked into and reformed, we have looked so long upon the blaze that Zuinglius and Calvin have beaconed up to us, that we are stark blind.

There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from their maxims. It is their own pride and ignorance which causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meekness, nor can convince, yet all must be suppressed which is not found in their Syntagma. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dissevered pieces, which are yet wanting to the body of truth. To be still searching what we know not, by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it, (for all her body is homogeneal, and proportional,) this is the golden rule in theology as well as in arithmetic, and makes up the best harmony in a church; not the forced and outward union of cold, and neutral, and inwardly divided minds.

Lords and commons of England! consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors: a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtile and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. Therefore the studies of learning in her deepest sciences have been so ancient, and so eminent among us, that writers of good antiquity and able judgment have been persuaded, that even the school of Pythagoras, and the Persian wisdom, took beginning from the old philosophy of this island.* And that wise and civil Roman, Julius Agri-

* This is rhetorical; though no doubt the Druids may have been as wise as the Persians. Pythagoras, however, had deeper and purer springs to draw from than the barbarian philosophy of Britain: his own genius and

cola, who governed once here for Cæsar, preferred the natural wits of Britain before the laboured studies of the French.*

Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out yearly from as far as the mountainous borders of Russia, and beyond the Hercynian wilderness, not their youth, but their staid men, to learn our language and our theological arts. Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of Heaven, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending towards us. Why else was this nation chosen before any other, that out of her, as out of Sion, should be proclaimed and sounded forth the first tidings and trumpet of reformation to all Europe? And had it not been the obstinate perverseness of our prelates against the divine and admirable spirit of Wickliffe, to suppress him as a schismatic and innovator, perhaps neither the Bohemian Husse and Jerome, no, nor the name of Luther or of Calvin, had been ever known: the glory of reforming all our neighbours had been completely ours. But now, as our obdurate clergy have with violence demeaned the matter, we are become hitherto the latest and the backwardest scholars, of whom God offered to have made us the teachers.

Now once again by all concurrence of signs, and by the general instinct of holy and devout men, as they daily and solemnly express their thoughts, God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in his church, even to the reforming of reformation itself; what does he then but reveal himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his Englishmen? I say, as his manner is, first to us, though we mark not the method of his counsels, and are unworthy. Behold now this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers working, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleagured truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas wherewith

his own country freed him from the necessity of travelling so far northward in search of wisdom.—ED.

* “*Jam verè principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modò linguam Romanam abnueban eloquentiam concupiscerent.*”—(*Tacit. Agric. l. xxi.*)—ED.

to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation : others as fast reading, trying all things, assenting to the force of reason and conviction.

What could a man require more from a nation so pliant and so prone to seek after knowledge ? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful labourers, to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies ? We reckon more than five months yet to harvest ; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up, the fields are white already. Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions ; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge and understanding, which God hath stirred up in this city. What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness among men, to reassume the ill-deputed care of their religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity might win all these diligencies to join and unite into one general and brotherly search after truth ; could we but forego this pre-latical tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men. I doubt not, if some great and worthy stranger should come among us, wise to discern the mould and temper of a people, and how to govern it, observing the high hopes and aims, the diligent alacrity of our extended thoughts and reasonings in the pursuance of truth and freedom, but that he would cry out as Pyrrhus did, admiring the Roman docility and courage, "If such were my Epirots, I would not despair the greatest design that could be attempted to make a church or kingdom happy."

Yet these are the men cried out against for schismatics and sectaries, as if, while the temple of the Lord was building, some cutting, some squaring the marble, others hewing the cedars, there should be a sort of irrational men, who could not consider there must be many schisms and many dissections made in the quarry and in the timber ere the house of God can be built. And when every stone is laid artfully together, it cannot be united into a continuity, it can but be contiguous in this world : neither can every piece of the

building be of one form ; nay, rather the perfection consists in this, that out of many moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportional, arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure.

Let us therefore be more considerate builders, more wise in spiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected. For now the time seemis come, wherein Moses, the great prophet, may sit in heaven rejoicing to see that memorable and glorious wish of his fulfilled, when not only our seventy elders, but all the Lord's people, are become prophets. No marvel then though some men, and some good men too perhaps, but young in goodness, as Joshua then was, envy them. They fret, and out of their own weakness are in agony, lest these divisions and subdivisions will undo us. The adversary again applauds, and waits the hour : when they have branched themselves out, saith he, small enough into parties and partitions, then will be our time. Fool ! he sees not the firm root, out of which we all grow, though into branches ; nor will beware, until he see our small divided maniples cutting through at every angle of his ill-united and unwieldy brigade. And that we are to hope better of all these supposed sects and schisms, and that we shall not need that solicitude, honest perhaps, though overtimorous, of them that vex in this behalf, but shall laugh in the end at those malicious applauders of our differences, I have these reasons to persuade me.

First, when a city shall be as it were besieged and blocked about, her navigable river infested, inroads and incursions round, defiance and battle oft rumoured to be marching up, even to her walls and suburb trenches ; that then the people, or the greater part, more than at othertimes, wholly taken up with the study of highest and most important matters to be reformed, should be disputing, reasoning, reading, inventing, discoursing, even to a rarity and admiration, things not before discoursed or written of, argues first a singular good will, contentedness, and confidence in your prudent foresight, and safe government, lords and commons ; and from thence derives itself to a gallant bravery and well-grounded contempt of their enemies, as if there were no small number of as great spirits among us, as his was who, when Rome was nigh besieged by Hannibal, being in the city, bought that piece of

ground at no cheap rate whereon Hannibal himself encamped his own regiment.

Next, it is a lively and cheerful presage of our happy success and victory. For as in a body when the blood is fresh, the spirits pure and vigorous, not only to vital, but to rational faculties, and those in the acutest and the pertest operations of wit and subtlety, it argues in what good plight and constitution the body is ; so when the cheerfulness of the people is so sprightly up, as that it has not only wherewith to guard well its own freedom and safety, but to spare, and to bestow upon the solidest and sublimest points of controversy and new invention, it betokens us not degenerated, nor drooping to a fatal decay, by casting off the old and wrinkled skin of corruption to outlive these pangs, and wax young again, entering the glorious ways of truth and prosperous virtue, destined to become great and honourable in these latter ages. Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks : methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam ; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance ; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms.

What should ye do then, should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge and new light sprung up and yet springing daily in this city ? Should ye set an oligarchy of twenty engrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by their bushel ? Believe it, lords' and commons ! they who counsel ye to such a suppressing, do as good as bid ye suppress yourselves ; and I will soon show how. If it be desired to know the immedieate cause of all this free writing and free speaking, there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mild, and free, and humane government ; it is the liberty, lords and commons, which your own valorous and happy counsels have purchased us ; liberty which is the nurse of all great wits : this is that which hath rarified and enlightened our spirits like the influence of heaven : this is that which hath enfranchised, enlarged, and lifted up our apprehensions

degrees above themselves. Ye cannot make us now less capable, less knowing, less eagerly pursuing of the truth, unless ye first make yourselves, that made us so, less the lovers, less the founders of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant again, brutish, formal, and slavish, as ye found us ; but you then must first become that which ye cannot be, oppressive, arbitrary, and tyrannous, as they were from whom ye have freed us. That our hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts more erected to the search and expectation of greatest and exactest things, is the issue of your own virtue propagated in us ; ye cannot suppress that unless ye reinforce an abrogated and merciless law, that fathers may dispatch at will their own children. And who shall then stick closest to ye and excite others ? Not he who takes up arms for coat and conduct, and his four nobles of Danegelt. Although I dispraise not the defence of just immunities, yet love my peace better, if that were all. Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.

What would be best advised then, if it be found so hurtful and so unequal to suppress opinions for the newness or the unsuitableness to a customary acceptance, will not be my task to say ; I shall only repeat what I have learned from one of your own honourable number, a right noble and pious lord, who had he not sacrificed his life and fortunes to the church and commonwealth, we had not now missed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye know him, I am sure ; yet I for honour's sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him, the Lord Brook. He writing of episcopacy, and by the way treating of sects and schisms, left ye his vote, or rather now the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honoured regard with ye, so full of meekness and breathing charity, that next to His last testament, who bequeathed love and peace to his disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have read or heard words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to hear with patience and humility those, however they be miscalled, that desire to live purely, in such a use of God's ordinances, as the best guidance of their conscience gives them, and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book itself will tell us more at large, being published to the world, and dedicated to the parliament by him, who both for his life and

for his death deserves, that what advice he left be not laid by without perusal.

And now the time in special is, by privilege to write and speak what may help to the further discussing of matters in agitation. The temple of Janus, with his two controversial faces, might now not unsignificantly be set open. And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing. He who hears what praying there is for light and clear knowledge to be sent down among us, would think of others matters to be constituted beyond the discipline of Geneva, framed and fabricated already to our hands.

Yet when the new light which we beg for shines in upon us, there be who envy and oppose, if it come not first in at their casements. What a collusion is this, whenas we are exhorted by the wise man to use diligence, "to seek for wisdom as for hidden treasures," early and late, that another order shall enjoin us, to know nothing but by statute? When a man hath been labouring the hardest labour in the deep mines of knowledge, hath furnished out his findings in all their equipage, drawn forth his reasons as it were a battle ranged, scattered and defeated all objections in his way, calls out his adversary into the plain, offers him the advantage of wind and sun, if he please, only that he may try the matter by dint of argument; for his opponents then to skulk, to lay ambuscments, to keep a narrow bridge of licensing where the challenger should pass, though it be valour enough in soldiership, is but weakness and cowardice in the wars of truth. For who knows not that truth is strong, next to the Almighty; she needs no policies, nor stratagems, nor licensings to make her victorious; those are the shifts and the defences that error uses against her power: give her but room, and do not bind her when she sleeps, for then she speaks not true, as the old Proteus did, who spake oracles only when he was caught and bound, but then rather she turns herself into all shapes except her own, and perhaps tunes her voice according to the time, as Micaiah did before Ahab, until she be adjured into her own likeness.

Yet is it not impossible that she may have more shapes

than one? What else is all that rank of things indifferent, wherein truth may be on this side, or on the other, without being unlike herself? What but a vain shadow else is the abolition of “those ordinances, that hand-writing nailed to the cross?” What great purchase is this Christian liberty which Paul so often boasts of? His doctrine is, that he who eats or eats not, regards a day or regards it not, may do either to the Lord. How many other things might be tolerated in peace, and left to conscience, had we but charity, and were it not the chief stronghold of our hypocrisy to be ever judging one another? I fear yet this iron yoke of outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linen decency yet haunts us. We stumble, and are impatient at the least dividing of one visible congregation from another, though it be not in fundamentals; and through our forwardness to suppress, and our backwardness to recover, any enthralled piece of truth out of the gripe of custom, we care not to keep truth separated from truth, which is the fiercest rent and disunion of all. We do not see that while we still affect by all means a rigid external formality, we may as soon fall again into a gross conforming stupidity, a stark and dead congealment of “wood and hay and stubble” forced and frozen together, which is more to the sudden degenerating of a church than many subdichotomies of petty schisms.

Not that I can think well of every light separation; or that all in a church is to be expected “gold and silver, and precious stones;” it is not possible for man to sever the wheat from the tares, the good fish from the other fry; that must be the angels’ ministry at the end of mortal things. Yet if all cannot be of one mind, as who looks they should be? this doubtless is more wholesome, more prudent, and more Christian, that many be tolerated rather than all compelled. I mean not tolerated popery, and open superstition, which as it extirpates all religions and civil supremacies, so itself should be extirpate, provided first that all charitable and compassionate means be used to win and regain the weak and the misled: that also which is impious or evil absolutely either against faith or manners, no law can possibly permit, that intends not to unlaw itself: but those neighbouring differences, or rather indifferences, are what I speak of, whether in some point of doctrine or of discipline, which though they may be

many, yet need not interrupt the unity of spirit, if we could but find among us the bond of peace.

In the meanwhile, if any one would write, and bring his helpful hand to the slow-moving reformation which we labour under, if truth have spoken to him before others, or but seemed at least to speak, who hath so bejesuited us, that we should trouble that man with asking licence to do so worthy a deed ; and not consider this, that if it come to prohibiting, there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itself : whose first appearance to our eyes, bleared and dimmed with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unpleasing than many errors ; even as the person is of many a great man slight and contemptible to see to. And what do they tell us vainly of new opinions, when this very opinion of theirs, that none must be heard but whom they like, is the worst and newest opinion of all others ; and is the chief cause why sects and schisms do so much abound, and true knowledge is kept at distance from us ; besides yet a greater danger which is in it. For when God shakes a kingdom, with strong and healthful commotions, to a general reforming, it is not untrue that many sectaries and false teachers are then busiest in seducing.

But yet more true it is, that God then raises to his own work men of rare abilities, and more than common industry, not only to look back and revive what hath been taught heretofore, but to gain further, and to go on some new enlightened steps in the discovery of truth. For such is the order of God's enlightening his church, to dispense and deal out by degrees his beam, so as our earthly eyes may best sustain it. Neither is God appointed and confined, where and out of what place these his chosen shall be first heard to speak ; for he sees not as man sees, chooses not as man chooses, lest we should devote ourselves again to set places and assemblies, and outward callings of men ; planting our faith one while in the old convocation house ; and another while in the chapel at Westminster ; when all the faith and religion that shall be there canonized, is not sufficient without plain conviction, and the charity of patient instruction, to supple the least bruise of conscience, to edify the meanest Christian, who desires to walk in the spirit, and not in the letter of man trust, for all the number of voices that can be there made ; no, though Harry the Seventh himself here, with all

his liege tombs about him, should lend them voices from the dead to swell their number.

And if the men be erroneous who appear to be the leading schismatics, what withholds us but our sloth, our self-will, and distrust in the right cause, that we do not give them gentle meetings and gentle dismissions, that we debate not and examine the matter thoroughly with liberal and frequent audience ; if not for their sakes yet for our own ? Seeing no man who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world. And were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away. But if they be of those whom God hath fitted for the special use of these times with eminent and ample gifts, and those perhaps neither among the priests, nor among the pharisees, and we, in the haste of a precipitant zeal, shall make no distinction, but resolve to stop their mouths, because we fear they come with new and dangerous opinions, as we commonly forejudge them ere we understand them ; no less than woe to us, while, thinking thus to defend the gospel, we are found the persecutors !

There have been not a few since the beginning of this parliament, both of the presbytery and others, who by their unlicensed books to the contempt of an imprimatur first broke that triple ice clung about our hearts, and taught the people to see day ; I hope that none of those were the persuaders to renew upon us this bondage, which they themselves have wrought so much good by contemning. But if neither the check that Moses gave to young Joshua, nor the command which our Saviour gave to young John, who was so ready to prohibit those whom he thought unlicensed, be not enough to admonish our elders how unacceptable to God their testy mood of prohibiting is ; if neither their own remembrance what evil hath abounded in the church by this lett of licensing, and what good they themselves have begun by transgressing it, be not enough, but that they will persuade and execute the most Dominican part of the inquisition over us, and are already with one foot in the stirrup so active at suppressing, it would be no unequal distribution in

the first place to suppress the suppressors themselves ; whom the change of their condition hath puffed up, more than their late experience of harder times hath made wise.

And as for regulating the press, let no man think to have the honour of advising ye better than yourselves have done in that order published next before this, " That no book be printed, unless the printer's and the author's name, or at least the printer's be registered." Those which otherwise come forth, if they be found mischievous and libellous, the fire and the executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectual remedy that man's prevention can use. For this authentic Spanish policy of licensing books, if I have said aught, will prove the most unlicensed book itself within a short while ; and was the immediate image of a star-chamber decree to that purpose made in those times when that court did the rest of those her pious works, for which she is now fallen from the stars with Lucifer. Whereby ye may guess what kind of state prudence, what love of the people, what care of religion or good manners there was at the contriving, although with singular hypocrisy it pretended to bind books to their good behaviour. And how it got the upper hand of your precedent order so well constituted before, if we may believe those men whose profession gives them cause to inquire most, it may be doubted there was in it the fraud of some old patentees and monopolizers, in the trade of book-selling ; who, under pretence of the poor in their company not to be defrauded, and the just retaining of each man his several copy, (which God forbid should be gainsaid,) brought divers glossing colours to the house, which were indeed but colours, and serving to no end except it be to exercise a superiority over their neighbours ; men who do not therefore labour in an honest profession, to which learning is indebted, that they should be made other men's vassals. Another end is thought was aimed at by some of them in procuring by petition this order, that having power in their hands, malignant books might the easier escape abroad, as the event shews. But of these sophisms and elenches of merchandise I skill not : this I know, that errors in a good government and in a bad are equally almost incident ; for what magistrate may not be misinformed, and much the sooner, if liberty of printing be reduced into the power of a few ? But

to redress willingly and speedily what hath been erred, and in highest authority to esteem a plain advertisement more than others have done a sumptuous bride, is a virtue (honoured lords and commons!) answerable to your highest actions, and whereof none can participate but greatest and wisest men.*

* Dr. Birch observes that the Areopagitica had not the proper effect on the Presbyterians, who had, at that time, the ascendant, and were as tenacious of continuing the restraints upon others, as they had been loud in their complaints of them, when imposed upon themselves. According to Toland, however, (*Life of Milton*, p. 23,) the effect of the speech was such, that even one of the licensers themselves, called Mabbot, having assigned his reasons, retired from the office, in 1645. But this, it appears from Whitelocke, (*Memorials, &c.* p. 403, *Lond. 1732.*) is erroneous; for Mabbot did not retire till May 22, 1649: when, upon his desire and reasonings against licensng of books to be printed, he was discharged of that employment. And we find a particular account of the affair in a weekly paper, in quarto, entitled, *A perfect diurnal of some passages in Parliament, and the daily proceedings of the army, under his excellency the Lord Fairfax, from May 21 to May 28, 1649*, No. 304, where, p. 2331, we read as follows: "Mr. Mabbot hath long desired several members of the house, and lately the council of state, to move the house that he might be discharged of licensing books for the future, for the reasons following: viz. Because many thousands of scandalous and malignant pamphlets have been published with his name thereunto, as if he had licensed the same, (though he never saw them) on purpose (as he conceives) to prejudice him in his reputation amongst the honest party of this nation. II. Because that employment (he conceives) is unjust and iilegal, as to the ends of its first institution, viz., to stop the press from publishing anything that might discover the corruption of church and state, in the time of popery, episcopacy, and tyranny; the better to keep the people in ignorance, and carry on their popish, factious, and tyrannical designs, for the enslaving and destruction both of the bodies and souls of all the free people of this nation. III. Because licensing is as great a monopoly as ever was in this nation, in that all men's judgments, reasons, &c., are to be bound up in the licenser's (as to licensing); for if the author of any sheet, book, or treatise, write not to please the fancy, and come within the compass of the licenser's judgment, then he is not to receive any stamp of authority for publishing thereof. IV. Because it is lawful (in his judgment) to print any book, sheet, &c., without licensing, so as the author and printers do subscribe their true names thereunto, that so they may be liable to answer the contents thereof; and if they offend therein, then to be punished by such laws as are or shall be for those cases provided. A committee of the Council of State being satisfied with these and other reasons of Mr. Mabbot concerning licensing, the Council of State reports to the house: upon which, the house ordered this day that the said Mr. Mabbot be discharged of licensing books for the future."—ED.

TRACTS ON THE COMMONWEALTH.

EDITOR'S PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

DURING the confusion and disorders of the year 1659, when, after the death of Cromwell, notwithstanding a republican majority in the parliament, the partisans of the Stuarts, in conjunction with the dregs of the populace, clamoured for the restoration of the exiled family, Milton, inspired with shame and indignation by the relapse of his countrymen, or a large portion of them at least, into their old passion for servitude, composed the following pieces, in which he warns the nation against their fatal error, foretells the evils they would inevitably bring upon themselves, and to which they should see no end, but by undoing what they were now so eager to accomplish. His prophecy was fulfilled to the letter; and, after a disgraceful interval of twenty-eight years, the Stuarts, together with the doctrines of the divine right of kings and passive obedience, were finally banished together from these realms in 1688. The first of these tracts, Dr. Symmons observes, "was first published by Toland, and is well worthy of the reader's attention. After an interval of a few months, he inscribed to Monk, who now seemed to command the issue of things, his 'Mode of Establishing a Commonwealth,' a piece intended rather to expose the evils necessarily consequent to the nation's relapse into its old vassalage under kings, and to demonstrate the preference of a republican to a monarchical government, than to propose any just model of a popular constitution."*

A

LETTER TO A FRIEND

CONCERNING THE

RUPTURES OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

SIR,—Upon the sad and serious discourse which we fell into last night, concerning these dangerous ruptures of the commonwealth, scarce yet in her infancy, which cannot be without some inward flaw in her bowels, I began to consider more intensely thereon than hitherto I have been wont, resigning myself to the wisdom and care of those who had the government; and not finding that either God or the public required more of me than my prayers for them that govern. And since you have not only stirred up my thoughts, by acquainting me with the state of affairs more inwardly than I knew before; but also have desired me to set down my opinion thereof, trusting to your ingenuity, I shall give you freely my

* Life of Milton, p. 477.

apprehension, both of our present evils, and what expedients, if God in mercy regard us, may remove them.

I will begin with telling you how I was overjoyed, when I heard that the army, under the working of God's Holy Spirit, as I thought, and still hope well, had been so far wrought to Christian humility, and self-denial, as to confess in public their backsliding from the good old cause, and to shew the fruits of their repentance, in the righteousness of their restoring the old famous parliament, which they had without just authority dissolved. I call it the famous parliament, though not the harmless, since none well-affected but will confess, they have deserved much more of these nations, than they have undeserved. And I persuade me, that God was pleased with their restitution, signing it, as he did, with such a signal victory, when so great a part of the nation were desperately conspired to call back again their Egyptian bondage.

So much the more it now amazes me, that they, whose lips were yet scarce closed from giving thanks for that great deliverance, should be now relapsing, and so soon again backsliding into the same fault, which they confessed so lately and so solemnly to God and the world, and more lately punished in those Cheshire rebels; that they should now dissolve that parliament, which they themselves re-established, and acknowledged for their supreme power in their other day's humble representation: and all this, for no apparent cause of public concernment to the church or commonwealth, but only for discommissioning nine great officers in the army; which had not been done, as is reported, but upon notice of their intentions against the parliament.

I presume not to give my censure on this action, not knowing, as yet I do not, the bottom of it. I speak only what it appears to us without doors, till better cause be declared, and I am sure to all other nations most illegal and scandalous, I fear me barbarous, or rather scarce to be exampled among any barbarians, that a paid army should, for no other cause, thus subdue the supreme power that set them up. This, I say, other nations will judge to the sad dishonour of that army, lately so renowned for the civilest and best ordered in the world, and by us here at home, for the most conscientious. Certainly, if the great officers and soldiers of the Holland, French, or Venetian forces, should thus sit in council, and

write from garrison to garrison against their superiors, they might as easily reduce the king of France, or duke of Venice, and put the United Provinces in like disorder and confusion. Why do they not, being most of them held ignorant of true religion? because the light of nature, the laws of human society, the reverence of their magistrates, covenants, engagements, loyalty, allegiance, keeps them in awe.

How grievous will it then be! how infamous to the true religion which we profess! how dishonourable to the name of God, that his fear and the power of his knowledge in an army professing to be his, should not work that obedience, that fidelity to their supreme magistrates, that levied them and paid them; when the light of nature, the laws of human society, covenants and contracts, yea common shame, works in other armies, amongst the worst of them! Which will undoubtedly pull down the heavy judgment of God among us, who cannot but avenge these hypocrisies, violations of truth and holiness; if they be indeed so as they yet seem. For neither do I speak this in reproach to the army, but as jealous of their honour, inciting them to manifest and publish with all speed, some better cause of these their late actions, than hath hitherto appeared, and to find out the Achan amongst them, whose close ambition in all likelihood abuses their honest natures against their meaning to these disorders; their readiest way to bring in again the common enemy, and with him the destruction of true religion, and civil liberty.

But, because our evils are now grown more dangerous and extreme, than to be remedied by complaints, it concerns us now to find out what remedies may be likeliest to save us from approaching ruin. Being now in anarchy, without a counsellng and governing power; and the army, I suppose, finding themselves insufficient to discharge at once both military and civil affairs, the first thing to be found out with all speed, without which no commonwealth can subsist, must be a senate, or general council of state, in whom must be the power, first to preserve the public peace; next, the commerce with foreign nations; and lastly, to raise monies for the management of these affairs: this must either be the parliament re-admitted to sit, or a council of state allowed of by the army, since they only now have the power. The terms to be stood on are, liberty of conscience to all professing Scripture to be the rule

of their faith and worship; and the abjuration of a single person.

If the parliament be again thought on, to salve honour on both sides, the well-affected party of the city, and the congregated churches, may be induced to mediate by public addresses, and brotherly beseechings; which, if there be that saintship among us which is talked of, ought to be of highest and undeniable persuasion to reconciliation. If the parliament be thought well dissolved, as not complying fully to grant liberty of conscience, and the necessary consequence thereof, the removal of a forced maintenance from ministers, then must the army forthwith choose a council of state, whereof as many to be of the parliament, as are undoubtedly affected to these two conditions proposed.

That which I conceive only able to cement, and unite for ever the army, either to the parliament recalled, or this chosen council, must be a mutual league and oath, private or public, not to desert one another till death: that is to say, that the army be kept up, and all these officers in their places during life, and so likewise the parliament or counsellors of state; which will be no way unjust, considering their known merits on either side, in council or in field, unless any be found false to any of these two principles, or otherwise personally criminal in the judgment of both parties. If such a union as this be not accepted on the army's part, be confident there is a single person underneath.

That the army be upheld, the necessity of our affairs and factions will constrain long enough, perhaps, to content the longest liver in the army. And whether the civil government be an annual democracy, or a perpetual aristocracy, is not to me a consideration for the extremities wherein we are, and the hazard of our safety from our common enemy, gaping at present to devour us. That it be not an oligarchy, or the faction of a few, may be easily prevented by the numbers of their own choosing, who may be found infallibly constant to those two conditions fore-named, full liberty of conscience, and the abjuration of monarchy proposed: and the well-ordered committees of their faithfulest adherents in every county may give this government the resemblance and effects of a perfect democracy. As for the reformation of laws, and the places of judicature, whether to be here, as at present, or in every

county, as hath been long aimed at, and many such proposals, tending no doubt to public good, they may be considered in due time, when we are past these pernicious pangs, in a hopeful way of health and firm constitution.

But unless these things, which I have above proposed, one way or other, be once settled, in my fear, which God avert, we instantly ruin; or at best become the servants of one or other single person, the secret author and fomenter of these disturbances. You have the sum of my present thoughts, as much as I understand of these affairs, freely imparted, at your request, and the persuasion you wrought in me that I might chance hereby to be some way serviceable to the commonwealth, in a time when all ought to be endeavouring what good they can, whether much or but little. With this you may do what you please, put out, put in, communicate, or suppress: you offend not me, who only have obeyed your opinion, that in doing what I have done, I might happen to offer something which might be of some use in this great time of need. However, I have not been wanting to the opportunity which you presented before me, of showing the readiness which I have in the midst of my unfitness, to whatever may be required of me, as a public duty.

October 20, 1659.

THE PRESENT MEANS AND BRIEF DELINEATION

OF

A FREE COMMONWEALTH,

EASY TO BE PUT IN PRACTICE, AND WITHOUT DELAY.

IN A LETTER TO GENERAL MONK.

FIRST, All endeavours speedily to be used, that the ensuing election be of such as are already firm, or inclinable to constitute a free commonwealth, (according to the former qualifications decreed in parliament, and not yet repealed, as I hear,) without single person, or house of lords. If these be not such, but the contrary, who foresees not, that our liberties will be utterly lost in this next parliament, without some powerful course taken, of speediest prevention? The speediest way will be to

call up forthwith the chief gentlemen out of every county : to lay before them (as your excellency hath already, both in your published letters to the army, and your declaration recited to the members of parliament) the danger and confusion of readmitting kingship in this land ; especially against the rules of all prudence and example, in a family once ejected, and thereby not to be trusted with the power of revenge. That you will not longer delay them with vain expectation, but will put into their hands forthwith the possession of a free commonwealth ; if they will first return immediately and elect them, by such at least of the people as are rightly qualified, a standing council in every city and great town, which may then be dignified with the name of city, continually to consult the good and flourishing state of that place, with a competent territory adjoined ; to assume the judicial laws, either those that are, or such as they themselves shall new make severally, in each commonalty, and all judicatures, all magistracies, to the administration of all justice between man and man, and all the ornaments of public civility, academies, and such like, in their own hands. Matters appertaining to men of several counties or territories, may be determined as they are here at London, or in some more convenient place, under equal judges.

Next, That in every such capital place, they will choose them the usual number of ablest knights and burgesses, engaged for a commonwealth, to make up the parliament, or (as it will from henceforth be better called) the Grand or General Council of the Nation : whose office must be, with due caution, to dispose of forces both by sea and land, under the conduct of your excellency, for the preservation of peace, both at home and abroad ; must raise and manage the public revenue, but with provident inspection of their accompts ; must administer all foreign affairs, make all general laws, peace or war, but not without assent of the standing council in each city, or such other general assembly as may be called on such occasion, from the whole territory, where they may, without much trouble, deliberate on all things fully, and send up their suffrages within a set time, by deputies appointed.

Though this grand council be perpetual, (as in that book I proved would be best and most conformable to best examples,) yet they will then, thus limited, have so little matter in their hands, or power to endanger our liberty ; and the

people so much in theirs, to prevent them, having all judicial laws in their own choice, and free votes in all those which concern generally the whole commonwealth, that we shall have little cause to fear the perpetuity of our general senate; which will be then nothing else but a firm foundation and custody of our public liberty, peace and union, through the whole commonwealth, and the transactors of our affairs with foreign nations. If this yet be not thought enough, the known expedient may at length be used, of a partial rotation.

Lastly, if these gentlemen convocated refuse these fair and noble offers of immediate liberty, and happy condition, no doubt there be enough in every county who will thankfully accept them; your excellency once more declaring publicly this to be your mind, and having a faithful veteran army, so ready and glad to assist you in the prosecution thereof. For the full and absolute administration of law in every county, which is the difficultest of these proposals, hath been of most long desired: and the not granting it held a general grievance. The rest, when they shall see the beginnings and proceedings of these constitutions proposed, and the orderly, the decent, the civil, the safe, the noble effects thereof, will be soon convinced, and by degrees come in of their own accord, to be partakers of so happy a government.

THE READY AND EASY WAY

TO ESTABLISH

A FREE COMMONWEALTH, (*)

AND THE EXCELLENCE THEREOF,

COMPARED WITH THE INCONVENIENCES AND DANGERS OF
READMITTING KINGSHIP IN THIS NATION.

[FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1660.]

“Et nos
Consilium dedimus Syllæ, demus populo nunc.”

ALTHOUGH, since the writing of this treatise, the face of things hath had some change, writs for new elections have

* For the advocates of absolute monarchy Milton entertained a sovereign contempt, traces of which are everywhere visible in his works; but

been recalled, and the members at first chosen re-admitted from exclusion ; yet not a little rejoicing to hear declared the resolution of those who are in power, tending to the establishment of a free commonwealth, and to remove, if it be possible, this noxious humour of returning to bondage, instilled of late by some deceivers, and nourished from bad principles and false apprehensions among too many of the people ; I thought best not to suppress what I had written,* hoping that it may now be of much more use and concernment to be freely published, in the midst of our elections to a free parliament, or their sitting to consider freely of the government ; whom it behoves to have all things represented to them that may direct their judgment therein ; and I never read of any state, scarce of any tyrant, grown so incurable, as to refuse counsel from any in a time of public deliberation, much less to be offended. If their absolute determination be to enthrall us, before so long a Lent of servitude, they may

especially in the Eikonoklastes, where, animadverting on the desire of the more ignorant and base-minded among the people to recall the exiled Stuart, he says : " But the people, exorbitant and excessive in all their motions, are prone oftentimes not to a religious only, but to a civil kind of idolatry, in idolizing their kings ; though never more mistaken in the object of their worship : heretofore being wont to repute for saints those faithful and courageous barons, who lost their lives in the field, making glorious war against tyrants for the common liberty ; as Simon Earl of Lancaster, against Edward II. But now with a besotted and degenerate baseness of spirit, except some few who yet retain in them the old English fortitude and love of freedom, and have testified it by their matchless deeds, imbastardized from the ancient nobleness of their ancestors, are ready to fall flat and give adoration to the image and memory of this man, who hath offered at more cunning fetches to undermine our liberties, and put tyranny into an art, than any British king before him."—ED.

* Upon this attempt of Milton at composing the distractions of his country, Dr. Johnson remarks : " Even in the year of the restoration he bated no jot of heart or hope, but was *fantastical* enough to think that the nation, agitated as it was, might be settled by a pamphlet." Milton was not without hope that reason and common sense, though urged in a pamphlet, might have some weight with his countrymen, whom he saw still hesitating to put their necks in the yoke ; and at all events, considered it his duty to lift up a warning voice, cautioning them before it should be too late. In the next page Johnson speaks of him as " kicking when he could strike no longer ; " and again, further on, describes him " skulking from the approach of his king ; " forgetting that that same king had for years been skulking from the parliament, and subsisting on the contemptuous pity of a foreign despot, to whom, when reinstated in his kingdom, he was *content*, if history may be believed, to become the pensioned slave.—ED.

permit us a little shroving-time first, wherein to speak freely, and take our leaves of liberty.* And because in the former edition, through haste, many faults escaped, and many books were suddenly dispersed, ere the note to mend them could be sent, I took the opportunity from this occasion to revise and somewhat to enlarge the whole discourse, especially that part which argues for a perpetual senate. The treatise thus revised and enlarged, is as follows :

The Parliament of England, assisted by a great number of the people who appeared and stuck to them faithfulest in defence of religion and their civil liberties, judging kingship by long experience a government unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous, justly and magnanimously abolished it, turning regal bondage into a free commonwealth, to the admiration and terror of our emulous neighbours. They took themselves not bound by the light of nature or religion to any former covenant, from which the king himself, by many forfeitures of a latter date or discovery, and our own longer consideration thereon, had more and more unbound us, both to himself and his posterity ; as hath been ever the justice and the prudence of all wise nations that have ejected tyranny. They covenanted "to preserve the king's person and authority, in the preservation of the true religion, and our liberties;" not in his endeavouring to bring in upon our consciences a popish religion ; upon our liberties, thraldom ; upon our lives, destruction, by his occasioning, if not complotting, as was after discovered, the Irish massacre ; his fomenting and arming the rebellion ; his covert leaguing with the rebels against us : his refusing, more than seven times, propositions most just and necessary to the true religion and our liberties, tendered him by the parliament both of England and Scotland. They made not their covenant concerning him with no difference between a king and a God ; or promised him, as Job did to the Almighty, "to trust in him though he slay us :" they understood that the solemn engagement, wherein we all forswore kingship, was no more a breach of the covenant, than the covenant was of the protestation before, but a faithful and prudent going on both in words well weighed, and in

* A melancholy leave-taking ; for,

" Jove fixed it certain that the fatal day
That makes man slave, takes half his worth away."—ED.

the true sense of the covenant “without respect of persons,” when we could not serve two contrary masters, God and the king, or the king and that more supreme law, sworn in the first place to maintain our safety and our liberty. They knew the people of England to be a free people, themselves the *representers* of that freedom ; and although many were excluded, and as many fled (so they pretended) from tumults to Oxford, yet they were left a sufficient number to act in parliament, therefore not bound by any statute of preceding parliaments, but by the law of nature only, which is the only law of laws truly and properly to all mankind fundamental ; the beginning and the end of all government ; to which no parliament or people that will thoroughly reform, but may and must have recourse, as they had, and must yet have, in church reformation (if they thoroughly intend it) to evangelic rules ; not to ecclesiastical canons, though never so ancient, so ratified and established in the land by statutes which for the most part are mere positive laws, neither natural nor moral : and so by any parliament, for just and serious considerations, without scruple to be at any time repealed.

If others of their number in these things were under force, they were not, but under free conscience ; if others were excluded by a power which they could not resist, they were not therefore to leave the helm of government in no hands, to discontinue their care of the public peace and safety, to desert the people in anarchy and confusion, no more than when so many of their members left them, as made up in outward formality a more legal parliament of three estates against them. The best affected also, and best principled of the people, stood not numbering or computing, on which side were most voices in parliament, but on which side appeared to them most reason, most safety, when the house divided upon main matters. What was well mentioned and advised, they examined not whether fear or persuasion carried it in the vote, neither did they measure votes and counsels by the intentions of them that voted ; knowing that intentions either are but guessed at, or not soon enough known ; and although good, can neither make the deed such, nor prevent the consequence from being bad. Suppose bad intentions in things otherwise well done ; what was well done, was by them who so thought, not the less obeyed or followed in the state ; since in the

church, who had not rather follow Iscariot or Simon, the magician, though to covetous ends, preaching, than Saul, though in the uprightness of his heart persecuting the gospel?

Safer they, therefore, judged what they thought the better counsels, though carried on by some perhaps to bad ends, than the worse by others, though endeavoured with best intentions. And yet they were not to learn that a greater number might be corrupt within the walls of a parliament, as well as of a city; whereof in matters of nearest concernment all men will be judges; nor easily permit that the odds of voices in their greatest council shall more endanger them by corrupt or credulous votes, than the odds of enemies by open assaults; judging that most voices ought not always to prevail, where main matters are in question. If others hence will pretend to disturb all counsels; what is that to them who pretend not, but are in real danger; not they only so judging, but a great, though not the greatest number of their chosen patriots, who might be more in weight than the others in numbers: there being in number little virtue, but by weight and measure wisdom working all things, and the dangers on either side they seriously thus weighed?

From the treaty, short fruits of long labours, and seven years' war; security for twenty years, if we can hold it; reformation in the church for three years: then put to shift again with our vanquished master. His justice, his honour, his conscience declared quite contrary to ours; which would have furnished him with many such evasions, as in a book entitled "An Inquisition for Blood," soon after were not concealed: bishops not totally removed, but left, as it were, in ambush, a reserve, with ordination in their sole power; their lands already sold, not to be alienated, but rented, and the sale of them called "sacrilege;" delinquents, few of many brought to condign punishment; accessories punished, the chief author, above pardon, though, after utmost resistance, vanquished; not to give, but to receive, laws; yet besought, treated with, and to be thanked for his gracious concessions, to be honoured, worshipped, glorified.

If this we swore to do, with what righteousness in the sight of God, with what assurance that we bring not by such an oath, the whole sea of blood-guiltiness upon our heads? If

on the other side we prefer a free government, though for the present not obtained, yet all those suggested fears and difficulties, as the event will prove, easily overcome, we remain finally secure from the exasperated regal power, and out of snares; shall retain the best part of our liberty, which is our religion, and the civil part will be from these who defer us, much more easily recovered, being neither so subtle nor so awful as a king reinthroned. Nor were their actions less both at home and abroad, than might become the hopes of a glorious rising commonwealth: nor were the expressions both of army and people, whether in their public declarations, or several writings, other than such as testified a spirit in this nation, no less noble and well-fitted to the liberty of a commonwealth, than in the ancient Greeks or Romans.* Nor was the heroic cause unsuccessfully defended to all Christendom, against the tongue of a famous and thought invincible adversary; nor the constancy and fortitude, that so nobly vindicated our liberty, our victory at once against two the most prevailing usurpers over mankind, superstition and tyranny, unpraised or uncelebrated in a written monument, likely to outlive detraction, as it hath hitherto convinced or silenced not a few of our detractors, especially in parts abroad.†

After our liberty and religion thus prosperously fought for, gained, and many years possessed, except in those unhappy interruptions, which God hath removed; now that nothing remains, but in all reason the certain hopes of a speedy and immediate settlement for ever in a firm and free commonwealth, for this extolled and magnified nation, regardless both of honour won, or deliverances vouchsafed from heaven, to fall back, or rather to creep back so poorly, as it seems the multitude would, to their once abjured and detested thralldom

* Such were the hopes then entertained by men, themselves enthusiastic, and filled with the noblest maxims; but Milton lived to be convinced that a people, for the most part ill-instructed, can never be free. Liberty must be based on education, on a political education, adapted to that end. Had the commonwealth long enough subsisted, the knowledge necessary to its conservation would doubtless have been soon diffused; but it was destroyed before it had properly taken root, though there remained in the public mind a hankering after popular institutions, which, up to this day, seems to have gone on constantly increasing in strength.—ED.

† He here makes manifest with what satisfaction he looked back upon his own achievements in defending the people of England against their foreign defamers, and the advocates of prelacy at home.—ED.

of kingship, to be ourselves the slanderers of our own just and religious deeds, though done by some to covetous and ambitious ends, yet not therefore to be stained with their infamy, or they to asperse the integrity of others ; and yet these now by revolting from the conscience of deeds well done, both in church and state, to throw away and forsake, or rather to betray a just and noble cause for the mixture of bad men who have ill-managed and abused it, (which had our fathers done heretofore, and on the same pretence deserted true religion, what had long ere this become of our gospel, and all protestant reformation so much intermixed with the avarice and ambition of some reformers?) and by thus relapsing, to verify all the bitter predictions of our triumphing enemies, who will now think they wisely discerned and justly censured both us and all our actions as rash, rebellious, hypocritical, and impious ; not only argues a strange, degenerate contagion suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepared for new slavery, but will render us a scorn and derision to all our neighbours.

And what will they at best say of us, and of the whole English name, but scoffingly, as of that foolish builder mentioned by our Saviour, who began to build a tower, and was not able to finish it ? Where is this goodly tower of a commonwealth, which the English boasted they would build to overshadow kings, and be another Rome in the west ? The foundation indeed they lay gallantly, but fell into a worse confusion, not of tongues, but of factions, than those at the tower of Babel; and have left no memorial of their work behind them remaining but in the common laughter of Europe ! Which must needs redound the more to our shame, if we but look on our neighbours the United Provinces, to us inferior in all outward advantages ; who notwithstanding, in the midst of greater difficulties, courageously, wisely, constantly went through with the same work, and are settled in all the happy enjoyments of a potent and flourishing republic to this day.

Besides this, if we return to kingship, and soon repent, (as undoubtedly we shall, when we begin to find the old encroachment coming on by little and little upon our consciences, which must necessarily proceed from king and bishop united inseparably in one interest,) we may be forced perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and spend over again all that we have spent, but are never like to attain thus far as we

are now advanced* to the recovery of our freedom, never to have it in possession as we now have it, never to be vouchsafed hereafter the like mercies and signal assistances from Heaven in our cause, if by our ingrateful backsliding we make these fruitless ; flying now to regal concessions from his divine condescensions and gracious answers to our once importuning prayers against the tyranny which we then groaned under ; making vain and viler than dirt the blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant Englishmen, who left us in this liberty, bought with their lives ; losing by a strange after-game of folly all the battles we have won, together with all Scotland as to our conquest, hereby lost, which never any of our kings could conquer, all the treasure we have spent, not that corruptible treasure only, but that far more precious of all our late miraculous deliverances ; treading back again with lost labour all our happy steps in the progress of reformation, and most pitifully depriving ourselves the instant fruition of that free government, which we have so dearly purchased, a free commonwealth, not only held by wisest men in all ages the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest government, the most agreeable to all due liberty and proportioned equality, both human, civil, and Christian, most cherishing to virtus and true religion, but also (I may say it with greatest probability) plainly commended, or rather enjoined by our Saviour himself, to all Christians, not without remarkable disallowance, and the brand of Gentilism upon kingship.

God in much displeasure gave a king to the Israelites, and imputed it a sin to them that they sought one ; but Christ apparently forbids his disciples to admit of any such heathenish government : “The kings of the Gentiles,” saith he, “exercise lordship over them,” and they that “exercise authority upon them are called benefactors : but ye shall not be so ;

* Nearly two hundred years have elapsed, and he has not yet been proved a false prophet. We have in our own day, indeed, witnessed great reforms, and others are even now in progress. But we have still a house filled with hereditary legislators, with men, who, without understanding the question under debate, without even hearing the reasons urged for or against a measure, send their blind votes from beyond the seas, or commission another man to oppose, in their names, the interests of their country ; and in that same house all the out-of-date prejudices, all the feudal notions of our ignorant ancestors, w^t many others, worse than they ever entertained, are by great numbers fostered, openly professed, gloried in, to the shame of our age.—ED.

but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that serveth." The occasion of these his words was the ambitious desire of Zebedee's two sons to be exalted above their brethren in his kingdom, which they thought was to be ere long upon earth. That he speaks of civil government, is manifest by the former part of the comparison, which infers the other part to be always in the same kind. And what government comes nearer to this precept of Christ, than a free commonwealth; wherein they who are the greatest, are perpetual servants and drudges to the public at their own cost and charges, neglect their own affairs, yet are not elevated above their brethren; live soberly in their families, walk the street as other men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration?* Whereas a king must be adored like a demigod, with a dissolute and haughty court about him, of vast expense and luxury, masks and revels, to the debauching of our prime gentry, both male and female; not in their pastimes only, but in earnest, by the loose employments of court-service, which will be then thought honourable.† There will be a queen of no less charge; in most

* Dr. Gillies, many years ago, translated the *Politics* of Aristotle for the purpose,—which Johnson might, perhaps, had he been a reformer, have termed "fantastical,"—of combating the popular predilection in favour of liberal institutions; and, with this view, he endeavoured, both in his notes, and the peculiar phraseology he adopted in rendering the text, to misrepresent the sense of the original, which, as Hobbes clearly perceived, is hostile to monarchy. Nevertheless, in this elegant but faithless translation, the reader will find the following passage, among many others which shew the conformity of Aristotle's and Milton's opinions. "Were one portion of the community as far distinguished above the rest, as we believe the gods and heroes to be exalted above men, or, as Scylax says, that the kings of India are superior to their subjects, in the virtues of mind and body," (a glance at the doctrine of castes,) "it would be proper that these dignified races or families should be invested with hereditary and unalterable authority; and, for this purpose, trained and educated in a manner peculiar to themselves, and relative to that pre-eminent rank which they were for ever destined to hold. But, since such races or families are nowhere to be found in these parts of the world, JUSTICE concurs with GOOD POLICY, in requiring that the citizens should rule by vicarious succession; and how this ought to be done, Nature herself sufficiently indicates." The doctor's ingenuity in selecting a work of which such is the spirit, in order to advance the cause of royalty, cannot be sufficiently admired.—(See book iv. ch. 14, l. vii. of the original.)—ED.

+ We have here a sufficient refutation of Johnson's notion, that in opposing monarchy, Milton looked chiefly, if not solely, at its expensiveness. He

likelihood outlandish and a papist ; besides a queen-mother such already ; together with both their courts and numerous train : then a royal issue, and ere long severally their sumptuous courts ; to the multiplying of a servile crew, not of servants only, but of nobility and gentry, bred up then to the hopes not of public, but of court-offices, to be stewards, chamberlains, ushers, grooms even of the close-stool ; and the lower their minds debased with court-opinions, contrary to all virtue and reformation, the haughtier will be their pride and profuseness.* We may well remember this not long since at home ; nor need but look at present into the French court, where enticements and preferments daily draw away and pervert the protestant nobility.

As to the burden of expense, to our cost we shall soon know it ; for any good to us deserving to be termed no better than the vast and lavish price of our subjection, and their debauchery, which we are now so greedily cheapening, and would so fain be paying most inconsiderately to a single person : who, for anything wherein the public really needs him, will have little else to do, but to bestow the eating and drinking of excessive dainties, to set a pompous lace upon the superficial actings of state, to pageant himself up and down in progress among the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject people, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing

considered a king's court as a great reservoir of vice, from whence every evil and corruption of manners flowed down upon the community ; and Charles II., as if to convince the world of the correctness of his theory, more than realized his worst predictions, more than justified his severest reprobation. In fact, the world never witnessed, not even in Capri, scenes more revolting or disgraceful to human nature than the English court then exhibited ; proofs of which the reader may find in the *Memoires de Grammont*.—ED.

* Of this the history of our aristocracy furnishes but too many examples. Look back ; what were the women, who were the men, from whom some of the proudest houses in the kingdom derived what are denominated their honours ? It were well had they been nothing worse than stewards, chamberlains, and grooms. To thrive in a court, no one can be ignorant what qualities are requisite, “Three kings protested to me,” says Swift, in his political romance, “that in their whole reigns, they never did once prefer any person of merit, unless by mistake, or treachery of some minister in whom they confided : neither would they do it if they were to live again ; and they showed, with great strength of reason, that the royal throne could not be supported without corruption, because that positive, confident, restive temper, which virtue infused into a man, was a perpetual clog to public business.”—(*Gulliver's Travels*, part iii. c. 8.)—ED.

done that can deserve it. For what can he more than another man ? who, even in the expression of a late court-poet, sits only like a great cipher set to no purpose before a long row of other significant figures. Nay, it is well and happy for the people, if their king be but a cipher, being oftentimes a mischief, a pest, a scourge of the nation, and, which is worse, not to be removed, not to be controlled, much less accused or brought to punishment, without the danger of a common ruin, without the shaking and almost subversion of the whole land : whereas in a free commonwealth, any governor or chief counsellor offending may be removed and punished, without the least commotion.

Certainly then that people must needs be mad or strangely infatuated, that build the chief hope of their common happiness or safety on a single person ; who, if he happen to be good, can do no more than another man ; if to be bad, hath in his hands to do more evil without check, than millions of other men. The happiness of a nation must needs be firmest and certainest in full and free council of their own electing, where no single person, but reason only, sways. And what madness is it for them who might manage nobly their own affairs themselves, sluggishly and weakly to devolve all on a single person ; and, more like boys under age than men, to commit all to his patronage and disposal, who neither can perform what he undertakes ; and yet for undertaking it, though royally paid, will not be their servant, but their lord ! How unmanly must it needs be, to count such a one the breath of our nostrils, to hang all our felicity on him, all our safety, our well-being, for which if we were aught else but sluggards or babies, we need depend on none but God and our own counsels, our own active virtue and industry ! " Go to the ant, thou sluggard," saith Solomon ; " consider her ways, and be wise ; which having no prince, ruler, or lord, provides her meat in the summer, and gathers her food in the harvest :" which evidently shows us, that they who think the nation undone without a king, though they look grave or haughty, have not so much true spirit and understanding in them as a pismire : neither are these diligent creatures hence concluded to live in lawless anarchy, or that commended ; but are set the examples to imprudent and ungoverned men, of a frugal and self-governing democracy or commonwealth : safer and more

thriving in the joint providence and counsel of many industrious equals than under the single domination of one imperious lord.*

It may be well wondered that any nation, styling themselves free, can suffer any man to pretend hereditary right over them as their lord ; wheras, by acknowledging that right, they conclude themselves his servants and his vassals, and so renounce their own freedom. Which how a people and their leaders especially can do, who have fought so gloriously for liberty ; how they can change their noble words and actions, heretofore so becoming the majesty of a free people, into the base necessity of court flatteries and prostrations, is not only strange and admirable, but lamentable to think on. That a nation should be so valorous and courageous to win their liberty in the field, and when they have won it, should be so heartless and unwise in their counsels, as not to know how to use it, value it, what to do with it, or with themselves ; but after ten or twelve years' prosperous war and contestation with tyranny, basely and besottedly to run their necks again into the yoke which they have broken ,and prostrate all the fruits of their victory for nought at the feet of the vanquished, besides our loss of glory, and such an example as kings or tyrants never yet had the like to boast of, will be an ignominy if it befall us, that never yet befell any nation possessed of their liberty ; worthy indeed themselves, what-

* Writers of all parties, Whigs and Tories, acknowledge, in theory, the demoralizing effect of despotic power upon those who imagine themselves called to exercise it for life. "To the causes already mentioned of the destruction of monarchy, we must add one peculiar to hereditary monarchy ; the *contemptible character* of youths born in the purple, and their proneness to offensive insolence. The authority of such youths cannot be *voluntarily endured* ; and thus the government, if a royalty, is effectually destroyed, and a *tyrannay* of short duration substituted in its stead." (*Arist. Polit.* I. vii. c. 10.) Gibbon, who will not be suspected of democratic preferences, could not, as an historian, refuse to perceive the pernicious effects of absolute authority in the person of the prince. "Serefraz Khan had been educated a prince ; and had the incapacity and the servile subjection to pleasure, which the education usually implies." (*Mill. Hist. of British India*, iii. 140.) Again : "Suraja Dowla was educated a prince, and with more than even the usual share of princely consideration and indulgence. He had, accordingly, more than the usual share of the princely vices. He was ignorant ; he was voluptuous ; on his own pains and pleasures he set a value immense, on the pains and pleasures of other men no value at all ; he was impatient, irascible, headstrong." (Id. p. 146.)—ED.

soever they be, to be for ever slaves, but that part of the nation which consents not with them, as I persuade me of a great number, far worthier than by their means to be brought into the same bondage.

Considering these things so plain, so rational, I cannot but yet further admire on the other side, how any man, who hath the true principles of justice and religion in him, can presume or take upon him to be a king and lord over his brethren, whom he cannot but know, whether as men or Christians, to be for the most part every way equal or superior to himself: how he can display with such vanity and ostentation his regal splendour, so supereminently above other mortal men; or, being a Christian, can assume such extraordinary honour and worship to himself, while the kingdom of Christ, our common king and lord, is hid to this world, and such gentilish imitation forbid in express words by himself to all his disciples. All protestants hold that Christ in his church hath left no vicegerent of his power; but himself, without deputy, is the only head thereof governing it from heaven: how then can any Christian man derive his kingship from Christ, but with worse usurpation than the pope his headship over the church, since Christ not only hath not left the least shadow of a command for any such vicegerence from him in the state, as the pope pretends for his in the church, but hath expressly declared that such regal dominion is from the gentiles, not from him, and hath strictly charged us not to imitate them therein?

I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will easily agree with me, that a free commonwealth without single person or house of lords is by far the best government, if it can be had; but we have all this while, say they, been expecting it, and cannot yet attain it. It is true, indeed, when monarchy was dissolved, the form of a commonwealth should have forthwith been framed, and the practice thereof immediately begun; that the people might have soon been satisfied and delighted with the decent order, ease, and benefit thereof; we had been then by this time firmly rooted, past fear of commotions or mutations, and now flourishing; this care of timely settling a new government instead of the old, too much neglected, hath been our mischief. Yet the cause thereof may be ascribed with most reason to the frequent disturbances, interruptions, and dissolutions, which the parliament hath had,

partly from the impatient or disaffected people, partly from some ambitious leaders in the army ; much contrary, I believe, to the mind and approbation of the army itself, and their other commanders, once undecceived, or in their own power.

Now is the opportunity, now the very season, wherein we may obtain a free commonwealth, and establish it for ever in the land, without difficulty or much delay. Writs are sent out for elections, and, which is worth observing, in the name, not of any king, but of the keepers of our liberty, to summon a free parliament ; which then only will indeed be free, and deserve the true honour of that supreme title, if they preserve us a free people. Which never parliament was more free to do, being now called not as heretofore, by the summons of a king, but by the voice of liberty. And if the people, laying aside prejudice and impatience, will seriously and calmly now consider their own good, both religious and civil, their own liberty and the only means thereof, as shall be here laid down before them, and will elect their knights and burgesses able men, and according to the just and necessary qualifications, (which, for aught I hear, remain yet in force unrepealed, as they were formerly decreed in parliament,) men not addicted to a single person or house of lords, the work is done ; at least the foundation firmly laid of a free commonwealth, and good part also erected of the main structure. For the ground and basis of every just and free government, (since men have smarted so oft for committing all to one person,) is a general council of ablest men, chosen by the people to consult of public affairs from time to time for the common good. In this grand council must the sovereignty, not transferred, but delegated only, and as it were deposited, reside ; with this caution, they must have the forces by sea and land committed to them for preservation of the common peace and liberty ; must raise and manage the public revenue, at least with some inspectors deputed for satisfaction of the people, how it is employed ; must make or propose, as more expressly shall be said anon, civil laws, treat of commerce, peace or war with foreign nations ; and, for the carrying on some particular affairs with more secrecy and expedition, must elect, as they have already out of their own number and others, a council of state.

And, although it may seem strange at first hearing, by

reason that men's minds are prepossessed with the notion of successive parliaments, I affirm, that the grand or general council, being well chosen, should be perpetual : for so their business is or may be, and oftentimes urgent ; the opportunity of affairs gained or lost in a moment. The day of council cannot be set as the day of a festival ; but must be ready always to prevent or answer all occasions. By this continuance they will become every way skilfullest, best provided of intelligence from abroad, best acquainted with the people at home, and the people with them. The ship of the commonwealth is always under sail ; they sit at the stern, and if they steer well, what need is there to change them, it being rather dangerous ? Add to this, that the grand council is both foundation and main pillar of the whole state ; and to move pillars and foundations, not faulty, cannot be safe for the building.

I see not, therefore, how we can be advantaged by successive and transitory parliaments ; but that they are much likelier continually to unsettle rather than to settle a free government, to breed commotions, changes, novelties, and uncertainties, to bring neglect upon present affairs and opportunities, while all minds are in suspense with expectation of a new assembly, and the assembly, for a good space, taken up with the new settling of itself. After which, if they find no great work to do, they will make it, by altering or repealing former acts, or making and multiplying new ; that they may seem to see what their predecessors saw not, and not to have assembled for nothing ; till all law be lost in the multitude of clashing statutes. But if the ambition of such as think themselves injured, that they also partake not of the government, and are impatient till they be chosen, cannot brook the perpetuity of others chosen before them ; or if it be feared, that long continuance of power may corrupt sincerest men, the known expedient is, and by some lately propounded, that annually (or if the space be longer, so much perhaps the better) the third part of senators may go out according to the precedence of their election, and the like number be chosen in their places, to prevent their settling of too absolute a power, if it should be perpetual : and this they call "partial rotation."

But I could wish, that this wheel, or partial wheel in

state, if it be possible, might be avoided, as having too much affinity with the wheel of Fortune. For it appears not how this can be done, without danger and mischance of putting out a great number of the best and ablest: in whose stead new elections may bring in as many raw, unexperienced, and otherwise affected, to the weakening and much altering for the worse of public transactions. Neither do I think a perpetual senate, especially chosen or entrusted by the people, much in this land to be feared, where the well-affected, either in a standing army, or in a settled militia, have their arms in their own hands. Safest therefore to me it seems, and of least hazard or interruption to affairs, that none of the grand council be moved, unless by death, or just conviction of some crime: * for what can be expected firm or steadfast from a floating foundation? However, I forejudge not any probable expedient, any temperament that can be found in things of this nature, so disputable on either side.

Yet lest this which I affirm be thought my single opinion, I shall add sufficient testimony. Kingship itself is therefore counted the more safe and durable because the king, and for the most part his council, is not changed during life. But a commonwealth is held immortal, and therein firmest, safest, and most above fortune; for the death of a king causeth oft-times many dangerous alterations; but the death now and then of a senator is not felt, the main body of them still continuing permanent in greatest and noblest common-

* A senate composed of members chosen for life would be a species of tyranny. It is therefore most extraordinary to find such an institution recommended by Milton, whose extensive reading must have furnished him with numerous examples of the evils which a body of this kind would naturally cause. In his analysis of the Spartan government, this is one of the defects that Aristotle objects to Lycurgus: "When the legislator enacted that the members of this council should hold their office for life, he did not consider that the understanding grows old as well as the body." (*Politics*, l. ii. c. 7.) Late in life, most men lose their enthusiasm, their energy and decision, are slow in council, and timorous in action; wherever the majority of the senators, therefore, are old, the policy of the nation will be distinguished by pusillanimity, by a preference of wealth to virtue, by a slowness to admit just and necessary reforms, which they will stigmatize with the name of innovations, and their neighbours will outstrip them in the arts both of war and peace. All this was doubtless known to Milton; but the times were unsettled, and he hoped they might, by the establishment of perpetual senate, be more rapidly and effectually composed.

wealths and as it were eternal. Therefore among the Jews, the supreme council of seventy, called the Sanhedrim, founded by Moses, in Athens that of Areopagus, in Sparta that of the ancients, in Rome the senate, consisted of members chosen for term of life ; and by that means remained as it were still the same to generations. In Venice they change indeed oftener than every year some particular council of state, as that of six, or such other : but the true senate, which upholds and sustains the government, is the whole aristocracy immovable. So in the United Provinces, the states-general, which are indeed but a council of state deputed by the whole union, are not usually the same persons for above three or six years ; but the states of every city, in whom the sovereignty hath been placed time out of mind, are a standing senate, without succession, and accounted chiefly in that regard the main prop of their liberty. And why they should be so in every well-ordered commonwealth, they who write of policy give these reasons : That to make the senate successive, not only impairs the dignity and lustre of the senate, but weakens the whole commonwealth, and brings it into manifest danger ; while by this means the secrets of state are frequently divulged, and matters of greatest consequence committed to inexpert and novice counsellors, utterly to seek in the full and intimate knowledge of affairs past.

I know not therefore what should be peculiar in England, to make successive parliaments thought safest, or convenient here more than in other nations, unless it be the fickleness which is attributed to us as we are islanders. But good education and acquirete wisdom ought to correct the fluxible fault, if any such be, of our watery situation. It will be objected, that in those places where they had perpetual senates, they had also popular remedies against their growing too imperious : as in Athens, besides Areopagus, another senate of four or five hundred ; in Sparta, the Ephori ; in Rome, the tribunes of the people.

But the event tells us, that these remedies either little availed the people, or brought them to such a licentious and unbridled democracy, as in fine ruined themselves with their own excessive power.* So that the main reason urged why

* By the laws of Sparta, while all the other citizens were subjected to a severe discipline, the Ephori were indulged in the exercise of the most un-

popular assemblies are to be trusted with the people's liberty, rather than a senate of principal men, because great men will be still endeavouring to enlarge their power, but the common sort will be contented to maintain their own liberty, is by experience found false; none being more immoderate and ambitious to amplify their power, than such popularities, which were seen in the people of Rome; who, at first contented to have their tribunes, at length contended with the senate that one consul, then both; soon after, that the censors and prætors also should be created plebeian, and the whole empire put into their hands; adoring lastly those, who most were adverse to the senate, till Marius, by fulfilling their inordinate desires, quite lost them all the power for which they had so long been striving, and left them under the tyranny of Sylla. The balance therefore must be exactly so set, as to preserve and keep up due authority on either side, as well in the senate as in the people. And this annual rotation of a senate to consist of three hundred, as is lately propounded, requires also another popular assembly upward of a thousand, with an answerable rotation. Which, besides that it will be liable to all those inconveniences found in the aforesaid remedies, cannot but be troublesome and chargeable, both in their motion and their session, to the whole land, unwieldy with their own bulk, unable in so great a number to mature their consultations as they ought, if any be allotted them, and that they meet not from so many parts remote to sit a whole year lieger in one

bounded luxury. Aristotle censures this, as being opposed to the prevailing spirit of Lycurgus's laws, which was harsh and rugged. Without having the vanity to suppose ourselves to have discovered what Aristotle could not, we think he has overlooked the reason of this extraordinary indulgence. The Spartan constitution was essentially aristocratic, and the institution of the Ephori, a concession made reluctantly to the will of the people. But, while this democratic power was created, steps were secretly taken to render it weak and inefficient; and, among a people educated in the exclusive admiration of abstemiousness, and indifference for pleasure, a course more likely to succeed could not have been devised than to overwhelm the popular magistrates by the temptations of effeminacy and debauchery. To the Spartan nobility, a drunken Ephorus would have been a spectacle no less edifying and agreeable than a drunken Helot: "Such," might they observe to each other, or to the populace, "are ever the magistrates elected by or from among the people!" which would be a weighty argument in favour of retaining all offices of state in their own hands. That such a polity was not at all too refined for Spartan heads may be inferred from the well-known method they adopted to inculcate sobriety among their children.—ED.

place, only now and then to hold up a forest of fingers, or to convey each man his bean or ballot into the box, without reason shewn or common deliberation; incontinent of secrets, if any be imparted to them; emulous and always jarring with the other senate. The much better way doubtless will be, in this wavering condition of our affairs, to defer the changing or circumscribing of our senate, more than may be done with ease, till the commonwealth be thoroughly settled in peace and safety, and they themselves give us the occasion.

Military men hold it dangerous to change the form of battle in view of an enemy: neither did the people of Rome bandy with their senate, while any of the Tarquins lived, the enemies of their liberty; nor sought, by creating tribunes, to defend themselves against the fear of their patricians, till, sixteen years after the expulsion of their kings, and in full security of their state, they had or thought they had just cause given them by the senate. Another way will be, to well qualify and refine elections: not committing all to the noise and shouting of a rude multitude, but permitting only those of them who are rightly qualified, to nominate as many as they will; and out of that number others of a better breeding, to choose a less number more judiciously, till after a third or fourth sifting and refining of exactest choice, they only be left chosen who are the due number, and seem by most voices the worthiest.

To make the people fittest to choose, and the chosen fittest to govern, will be to mend our corrupt and faulty education, to teach the people faith, not without virtue, temperance, modesty, sobriety, parsimony, justice; not to admire wealth or honour; to hate turbulence and ambition; to place every one his private welfare and happiness in the public peace, liberty, and safety. They shall not then need to be much mistrustful of their chosen patriots in the grand council; who will be then rightly called the true keepers of our liberty, though the most of their business will be in foreign affairs. But to prevent all mistrust, the people then will have their several ordinary assemblies (which will henceforth quite annihilate the odious power and name of committees) in the chief towns of every county, without the trouble, charge, or time lost of summoning and assembling from far in so great a number, and so long residing from their own houses, or removing of their families, to do as much at home in their

several shires, entire or subdivided, toward the securing of their liberty, as a numerous assembly of them all formed and convened on purpose with the wariest rotation. Whereof I shall speak more ere the end of this discourse; for it may be referred to time, so we be still going on by degrees to perfection. The people well weighing and performing these things, I suppose would have no cause to fear, though the parliament abolishing that name, as originally signifying but the parley of our lords and commons with the Norman king when he pleased to call them, should, with certain limitations of their power, sit perpetual, if their ends be faithful and for a free commonwealth, under the name of a grand or general council.

Till this be done, I am in doubt whether our state will be ever certainly and thoroughly settled; never likely till then to see an end of our troubles and continual changes, or at least never the true settlement and assurance of our liberty. The grand council being thus firmly constituted to perpetuity, and still, upon the death or default of any member, supplied and kept in full number, there can be no cause alleged, why peace, justice, plentiful trade, and all prosperity should not thereupon ensue throughout the whole land; with as much assurance as can be of human things, that they shall so continue (if God favour us, and our wilful sins provoke him not) even to the coming of our true and rightful, and only to be expected King, only worthy as he is our only Saviour, the Messiah, the Christ, the only heir of his eternal Father, the only by him anointed and ordained since the work of our redemption finished, universal Lord of all mankind.

The way propounded is plain, easy, and open before us; without intricacies, without the introducement of new or absolute forms or terms, or exotic models; ideas that would effect nothing; but with a number of new injunctions to manacle the native liberty of mankind; turning all virtue into prescription, servitude, and necessity, to the great impairing and frustrating of Christian liberty. I say again, this way lies free and smooth before us; is not tangled with inconveniences; invents no new incumbrances; requires no perilous, no injurious alteration or circumscription of men's lands and properties; secure, that in this commonwealth, temporal and spiritual lords removed, no man or number of men can attain to such wealth or vast possession, as will need the hedge of an

agrarian law (never successful, but the cause rather of sedition, save only where it began seasonably with first possession) to confine them from endangering our public liberty. To conclude, it can have no considerable objection made against it, that it is not practicable; lest it be said hereafter, that we gave up our liberty for want of a ready way or distinct form proposed of a free commonwealth. And this facility we shall have above our next neighbouring commonwealth, (if we can keep us from the fond conceit of something like a duke of Venice, put lately into many men's heads, by some one or other subtly driving on under that notion his own ambitious ends to lurch a crown,) that our liberty shall not be hampered or hovered over by any engagement to such a potent family as the house of Nassau, of whom to stand in perpetual doubt and suspicion, but we shall live the clearest and absolutest free nation in the world.

On the contrary, if there be a king, which the inconsiderate multitude are now so mad upon, mark how far short we are like to come of all those happinesses which in a free state we shall immediately be possessed of. First, the grand council, which, as I showed before, should sit perpetually, (unless their leisure give them now and then some intermissions or vacations, easily manageable by the council of state left sitting,) shall be called, by the king's good will and utmost endeavour, as seldom as may be. For it is only the king's right, he will say, to call a parliament; and this he will do most commonly about his own affairs rather than the kingdom's, as will appear plainly so soon as they are called. For what will their business then be, and the chief expense of their time, but an endless tugging between petition of right and royal prerogative, especially about the negative voice, militia, or subsidies, demanded and oftentimes extorted without reasonable cause appearing to the commons, who are the only true representatives of the people and their liberty, but will be then mingled with a court-faction; besides which, within their own walls, the sincere part of them who stand faithful to the people will again have to deal with two troublesome counter-working adversaries from without, mere creatures of the king, spiritual, and the greater part, as is likeliest of temporal lords, nothing concerned with the people's liberty.

If these prevail not in what they please, though never so

such against the people's interest, the parliament shall be soon dissolved, or sit and do nothing; not suffered to remedy the least grievance, or enact aught advantageous to the people. Next, the council of state shall not be chosen by the parliament, but by the king, still his own creatures, courtiers, and favourers; who will be sure in all their counsels to set their master's grandeur and absolute power, in what they are able, far above the people's liberty. I deny not but that there may be such a king, who may regard the common good before his own, may have no vicious favourite, may hearken only to the wisest and incorruptest of his parliament: but this rarely happens in a monarchy not elective; and it behoves not a wise nation to commit the sum of their well-being, the whole state of their safety to fortune. What need they? and how absurd would it be, whenas they themselves, to whom his chief virtue will be but to hearken, may with much better management and dispatch, with much more commendation of their own worth and magnanimity, govern without a master? Can the folly be paralleled, to adore and be slaves of a single person, for doing that which it is ten thousand to one whether he can or will do, and we without him might do more easily, more effectually, more laudably ourselves? Shall we never grow old enough to be wise, to make seasonable use of gravest authorities, experiences, examples? Is it such an unspeakable joy to serve, such felicity to wear a yoke? to clink our shackles, locked on by pretended law of subjection, more intolerable and hopeless to be ever shaken off, than those which are knocked on by illegal injury and violence?

Aristotle, our chief instructor in the universities, lest this doctrine be thought sectarian, as the royalist would have it thought, tells us in the third of his *Politics*, that certain men at first, for the matchless excellence of their virtue above others, or some great public benefit, were created kings by the people, in small cities and territories, and in the scarcity of others to be found like them; but when they abused their power, and governments grew larger, and the number of prudent men increased, that then the people, soon deposing their tyrants, betook them, in all civildest places, to the form of a free commonwealth. And why should we thus disparage and prejudicate our own nation, as to fear a scarcity of able and worthy men united in counsel to govern.

us, if we will but use diligence and impartiality, to find them out and choose them, rather yoking ourselves to a single person, the natural adversary and oppressor of liberty; though good, yet far easier corruptible by the excess of his single power and exaltation, or at best, not comparably sufficient to bear the weight of government, nor equally disposed to make us happy in the enjoyment of our liberty under him?

But admit that monarchy of itself may be convenient to some nations; yet to us who have thrown it out, received back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For kings to come, never forgetting their former ejection, will be sure to fortify and arm themselves sufficiently for the future against all such attempts hereafter from the people; who shall be then so narrowly watched and kept so low, that though they would never so fain, and at the same rate of their blood and treasure, they never shall be able to regain what they now have purchased and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any yoke imposed upon them. Nor will they dare to go about it; utterly disheartened for the future, if these their highest attempts prove unsuccessful; which will be the triumph of all tyrants hereafter over any people that shall resist oppression; and their song will then be, to others, How sped the rebellious English? to our posterity, How sped the rebels, your fathers?

This is not my conjecture, but drawn from God's known denunciation against the gentilizing Israelites, who, though they were governed in a commonwealth of God's own ordaining, he only their king, they his peculiar people, yet affecting rather to resemble heathen, but pretending the mis-government of Samuel's sons, no more a reason to dislike their commonwealth, than the violence of Eli's sons was imputable to that priesthood or religion, clamoured for a king. They had their longing, but with this testimony of God's wrath: "Ye shall cry out in that day, because of your king whom ye shall have chosen, and the Lord will not hear you in that day." Us if he shall hear now, how much less will he hear when we cry hereafter, who once delivered by him from a king, and not without wondrous acts of his providence, insensible and unworthy of those high mercies, are returning precipitantly, if he withhold us not, back to the captivity from whence he freed us!

Yet neither shall we obtain or buy at an easy rate this new gilded yoke, which thus transports us : a new royal revenue must be found, a new episcopal ; for those are individual : both which being wholly dissipated, or bought by private persons, or assigned for service done, and especially to the army, cannot be recovered without general detriment and confusion to men's estates, or a heavy imposition on all men's purses ; benefit to none but to the worst and ignoblest sort of men, whose hope is to be either the ministers of court riot and excess, or the gainers by it. But not to speak more of losses and extraordinary levies on our estates, what will then be the revenges and offences remembered and returned, not only by the chief person, but by all his adherents ; accounts and reparations that will be required, suits, indictments, inquiries, discoveries, complaints, informations, who knows against whom or how many, though perhaps neuters, if not to utmost infliction, yet to imprisonment, fines, banishment, or molestation ? if not these, yet disfavour, discountenance, disregard, and contempt on all but the known royalist, or whom he favours, will be plenteous.

Nor let the new royalized presbyterians persuade themselves, that their old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten ; whatever conditions be contrived or trusted on. Will they not believe this ; nor remember the pacification, how it was kept to the Scots ; how other solemn promises many a time to us ? Let them but now read the diabolical forerunning libels, the faces, the gestures, that now appear foremost and briskest in all public places, as the harbingers of those, that are in expectation to reign over us ; let them but hear the insolencies, the menaces, the insultings, of our newly animated common enemies, crept lately out of their holes, their hell I might say, by the language of their infernal pamphlets, the spew of every drunkard, every ribald ; nameless, yet not for want of licence, but for very shame of their own vile persons, not daring to name themselves, while they traduce others by name ; and give us to foresee, that they intend to second their wicked words, if ever they have power, with more wicked deeds.

Let our zealous backsliders forethink now with themselves how their necks yoked with these tigers of Bacchus, these new fanatics of not the preaching, but the sweating-tub, in-

spired with nothing holier than the venereal pox, can draw one way under monarchy to the establishing of church discipline with these new disgorged atheisms.* Yet shall they not have the honour to yoke with these, but shall be yoked under them; these shall plough on their backs. And do they among them, who are so forward to bring in the single person, think to be by him trusted or long regarded? So trusted they shall be, and so regarded, as by kings are wont reconciled enemies; neglected, and soon after discarded, if not persecuted for old traitors; the first inciters, beginners, and more than to the third part actors, of all that followed.

It will be found also, that there must be then, as necessarily as now, (for the contrary part will be still feared,) a standing army; which for certain shall not be this, but of the fiercest cavaliers, of no less expense, and perhaps again under Rupert. But let this army be sure they shall be soon disbanded, and likeliest without arrear or pay; and being disbanded, not be sure but they may as soon be questioned for being in arms against their king. The same let them fear who have contributed money; which will amount to no small number; that must then take their turn to be made delinquents and compounders. They who past reason and recovery are devoted to kingship perhaps will answer, that a greater part by far of the nation will have it so, the rest therefore must yield.

Not so much to convince these, which I little hope, as to confirm them who yield not, I reply, that this greatest part have both in reason, and the trial of just battle, lost the right of their election what the government shall be. Of them who have not lost that right, whether they for kingship be the greater number, who can certainly determine? Suppose they be, yet of freedom they partake all alike, one main end of government; which if the greater part value not, but will degenerately forego, is it just or reasonable, that most voices against the main end of government should en-

* A royalist historian, who, it may well be supposed, would not have been inclined to exaggerate the vices of his party, observes that "Never had any good undertaking so many unworthy attendants, such horrid blasphemers and wicked wretches, as ours hath had. I quake to think, much more to speak, what mine ears have heard from some of their lips; but to discover them is not my present business." (*Symeon's Defence of King Charles I.*, p. 165.)

slave the less number that would be free? More just it is, doubtless, if it come to force, that a less number compel a greater to retain, which can be no wrong to them, their liberty, than that a greater number, for the pleasure of their baseness, compel a less most injuriously to be their fellow-slaves. They who seek nothing but their own just liberty, have always right to win it and to keep it, whenever they have power, be the voices never so numerous that oppose it. And how much we above others are concerned to defend it from kingship, and from them who in pursuance thereof so perniciously would betray us and themselves to most certain misery and thralldom, will be needless to repeat.

Having thus far shewn with what ease we may now obtain a free commonwealth, and by it, with as much ease, all the freedom, peace, justice, plenty, that we can desire; on the other side, the difficulties, troubles, uncertainties, nay, rather impossibilities, to enjoy these things constantly under a monarch; I will now proceed to shew more particularly wherein our freedom and flourishing condition will be more ample and secure to us under a free commonwealth, than under kingship.

The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil liberty. As for spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God, and to save his own soul, according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose, by the reading of his revealed will, and the guidance of his Holy Spirit? That this is best pleasing to God, and that the whole protestant church allows no supreme judge or rule in matters of religion, but the Scriptures; and these to be interpreted by the Scriptures themselves, which necessarily infers liberty of conscience, I have heretofore proved at large in another treatise; and might yet further, by the public declarations, confessions, and admonitions of whole churches and states, obvious in all histories since the reformation.

This liberty of conscience, which above all other things ought to be to all men dearest and most precious, no government more inclinable not to favour only, but to protect, than a free commonwealth; as being most magnanimous, most fearless, and confident of its own fair proceedings. Whereas

kingship, though looking big, yet indeed most pusillanimous, full of fears, full of jealousies, startled at every umbrage, as it hath been observed of old to have ever suspected most and mistrusted them who were in most esteem for virtue and generosity of mind, so it is now known to have most in doubt and suspicion them who are most reputed to be religious. Queen Elizabeth, though herself accounted so good a protestant, so moderate, so confident of her subjects' love, would never give way so much as to presbyterian reformation in this land, though once and again besought, as Camden relates; but imprisoned and persecuted the very proposers thereof, alleging it as her mind and maxim unalterable, that such reformation would diminish regal authority.

What liberty of conscience can we then expect of others, far worse principled from the cradle, trained up and governed by popish and Spanish counsels, and on such depending hitherto for subsistence? Especially what can this last parliament expect, who having revived lately and published the covenant, have re-engaged themselves, never to readmit episcopacy? Which no son of Charles returning but will most certainly bring back with him, if he regard the last and strictest charge of his father, "to persevere in, not the doctrine only, but government of the church of England, not to neglect the speedy and effectual suppressing of errors and schisms;" among which he accounted presbytery one of the chief.

Or if, notwithstanding that charge of his father, he submit to the covenant, how will he keep faith to us, with disobedience to him; or regard that faith given, which must be founded on the breach of that last and solemnest paternal charge, and the reluctance, I may say the antipathy, which is in all kings, against presbyterian and independent discipline? For they hear the gospel speaking much of liberty; a word which monarchy and her bishops both fear and hate, but a free commonwealth both favours and promotes; and not the word only, but the thing itself. But let our governors beware in time, lest their hard measure to liberty of conscience be found the rock whereon they shipwreck themselves, as others have now done before them in the course wherein God was directing their steerage to a free commonwealth; and the abandoning of all those whom they call sec-

taries, for the detected falsehood and ambition of some, be a wilful rejection of their own chief strength and interest in the freedom of all protestant religion, under what abusive name soever calumniated.

The other part of our freedom consists in the civil rights and advancements of every person according to his merit: the enjoyment of those never more certain, and the access to these never more open, than in a free commonwealth. Both which, in my opinion, may be best and soonest obtained, if every county in the land were made a kind of subordinate commonalty or commonwealth, and one chief town or more, according as the shire is in circuit, made cities, if they be not so called already; where the nobility and chief gentry, from a proportionable compass of territory annexed to each city, may build houses or palaces befitting their quality; may bear part in the government, make their own judicial laws, or use those that are, and execute them by their own elected judicatures and judges without appeal, in all things of civil government between man and man. So they shall have justice in their own hands, law executed fully and finally in their own counties and precincts, long wished and spoken of, but never yet obtained. They shall have none then to blame but themselves, if it be not well administered; and fewer laws to expect or fear from the supreme authority; or to those that shall be made, of any great concernment to public liberty, they may, without much trouble in these commonalties, or in more general assémblies called to their cities from the whole territory on such occasion, declare and publish their assent or dissent by deputies, within a time limited, sent to the grand council; yet so as this their judgment declared shall submit to the greater number of other counties or commonalties, and not avail them to any exemption of themselves, or refusal of agreement with the rest, as it may in any of the United Provinces, being sovereign within itself, oftentimes to the great disadvantage of that union.

In these employments they may, much better than they do now, exercise and fit themselves till their lot fall to be chosen into the grand council, according as their worth and merit shall be taken notice of by the people. As for controversies that shall happen between men of several counties, they may repair, as they do now, to the capital city, or any other more

commodious, indifferent place, and equal judges. And this I find to have been practised in the old Athenian commonwealth, reputed the first and ancientest place of civility in all Greece; that they had in their several cities a peculiar, in Athens a common government; and their right, as it befell them, to the administration of both.

They should have here also schools and academies at their own choice, wherein their children may be bred up in their own sight to all learning and noble education; not in grammar only, but in all liberal arts and exercises. This would soon spread much more knowledge and civility, yea, religion, through all parts of the land, by communicating the natural heat of government and culture more distributively to all extreme parts, which now lie numb and neglected; would soon make the whole nation more industrious, more ingenious at home, more potent, more honourable abroad. To this a free commonwealth will easily assent; (nay, the parliament hath had already some such thing in design;) for of all governments a commonwealth aims most to make the people flourishing, virtuous, noble, and high-spirited. Monarchs will never permit; whose aim is to make the people wealthy indeed perhaps, and well fleeced, for their own shearing, and the supply of regal prodigality; but otherwise softest, basest, viciousest, servilest, easiest to be kept under. And not only in fleece, but in mind also sheepishest; and will have all the benches of judicature annexed to the throne, as a gift of royal grace, that we have justice done us; wheras nothing can be more essential to the freedom of a people, than to have the administration of justice, and all public ornaments, in their own election, and within their own bounds, without long travelling or depending upon remote places to obtain their right, or any civil accomplishment; so it be not supreme, but subordinate to the general power and union of the whole republic.

In which happy firmness, as in the particular above-mentioned, we shall also far exceed the United Provinces, by having not as they, (to the retarding and distracting oftentimes of their counsels or urgenter occasions,) many sovereignties united in one commonwealth, but many commonwealths under one united and intrusted sovereignty. And when we have our forces by sea and land either of a faithful army, or

a settled militia, in our own hands, to the firm establishing of a free commonwealth, public accounts under our own inspection, general laws and taxes, with their causes in our own domestic suffrages, judicial laws, offices, and ornaments at home in our own ordering and administration, all distinction of lords and commoners, that may any way divide or sever the public interest, removed ; what can a perpetual senate have then, wherein to grow corrupt, wherein to encroach upon us, or usurp ? Or if they do, wherein to be formidable ? Yet if all this avail not to remove the fear or envy of a perpetual sitting, it may be easily provided, to change a third part of them yearly, or every two or three years, as was above mentioned : or that it be at those times in the people's choice, whether they will change them, or renew their power, as they shall find cause.

I have no more to say at present : few words will save us, well considered ; few and easy things, now seasonably done. But if the people be so affected as to prostitute religion and liberty to the vain and groundless apprehension, that nothing but kingship can restore trade, not remembering the frequent plagues and pestilences that then wasted this city, such as through God's mercy we never have felt since ; and that trade flourishes nowhere more than in the free commonwealths of Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, before their eyes at this day ; yet if trade be grown so craving and importunate through the profuse living of tradesmen, that nothing can support it but the luxurious expenses of a nation upon trifles or superfluities ; so as if the people generally should betake themselves to frugality, it might prove a dangerous matter, lest tradesmen should mutiny for want of trading ; and that therefore we must forego and set to sale religion, liberty, honour, safety, all concerns divine or human, to keep up trading : if, lastly, after all this light among us, the same reason shall pass for current, to put our necks again under kingship, as was made use of by the Jews to return back to Egypt, and to the worship of their idol queen, because they falsely imagined that they then lived in more plenty and prosperity ; our condition is not sound, but rotten, both in religion and all civil prudence ; and will bring us soon, the way we are marching, to those calamities, which attend always and unavoidably on luxury, all national judgments under foreign

and domestic slavery : so far we shall be from mending our condition by monarchizing our government, whatever new conceit now possesses us.

However, with all hazard I have ventured what I thought my duty to speak in season, and to forewarn my country in time ; wherein I doubt not but there be many wise men in all places and degrees, but am sorry the effects of wisdom are so little seen among us. Many circumstances and particulars I could have added in those things whereof I have spoken ; but a few main matters now put speedily in execution, will suffice to recover us, and set all right : and there will want at no time who are good at circumstances ; but men who set their minds on main matters, and sufficiently urge them, in these most difficult times I find not many.

What I have spoken, is the language of that which is not called amiss “The good old Cause :” if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to backsliders. Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I was sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones ; and had none to cry to, but with the prophet, “O earth, earth, earth !” to tell the very soil itself, what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which thou suffer not, who didst create mankind free ! nor thou next, who didst redeem us from being servants of men !) to be the last words of our expiring liberty. But I trust I shall have spoken persuasion to abundance of sensible and ingenuous men ; to some, perhaps, whom God may raise from these stones to become children of reviving liberty ; and may reclaim, though they seem now choosing them a captain back for Egypt, to bethink themselves a little, and consider whither they are rushing ; to exhort this torrent also of the people, not to be so impetuous, but to keep their due channel ; and at length recovering and uniting their better resolutions, now that they see already how open and unbounded the insolence and rage is of our common enemies, to stay these ruinous proceedings, justly and timely fearing to what a precipice of destruction the deluge of this epidemic madness would hurry us, through the general defection of a misguided and abused multitude.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ARTICLES OF PEACE

BETWEEN JAMES EARL OF ORMOND FOR KING CHARLES THE FIRST ON THE ONE HAND,
AND THE IRISH REBELS AND PAPISTS ON THE OTHER HAND: AND ON A LETTER SENT
BY ORMOND TO COLONEL JONES, GOVERNOR OF DUBLIN. AND A REPRESENTATION OF
THE SCOTS PRESBYTERY AT BELFAST IN IRELAND. TO WHICH THE SAID ARTICLES,
LETTER, WITH COLONEL JONES'S ANSWER TO IT, AND REPRESENTATION, &c., ARE PRE-
FIXED

EDITOR S PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

PROPERLY to estimate these Observations it is necessary to be conversant with the minutest events in the history of those times. Clarendon relates the facts with the partiality of a bigoted royalist, and Milton, the habitual advocate of liberty of conscience, appears to remark upon them in the spirit of a persecutor. A wide distinction should however be drawn between a disposition to deprive other men of religious freedom, and anxiety to dispossess of power those whose principles were supposed to be inimical to all liberty, as the Irish Roman Catholics of those days would seem to have been. Clarendon himself, in fact, admits that from desiring, as they did at the outset, to escape from protestant domination, they gradually proceeded, as the king's affairs grew more and more desperate, to insist on absolute domination over protestantism. Milton, therefore, was not without justification, when he inveighed, as he does in these Observations, against spiritual despotism. It would of course be more agreeable to our feelings to discover the spirit of complete toleration breathing through all his writings. But we must not lose sight of the times in which he lived, and imagine that because it is safe for us to be tolerant, it would therefore have been equally safe for Milton, and the puritans. Practically men's civil virtues grow out of the circumstances in which they are placed, and it would have argued in Milton as much lukewarmness and effeminacy to think on these subjects as we think, as it would argue bigotry and unchristian fierceness in us to adopt and act upon the opinions expressed in these "Observations."

A PROCLAMATION.

ORMOND,

WHEREAS articles of peace are made, concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between us, James lord marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant-general, and general governor of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, by virtue of the authority wherewith we are intrusted, for, and on the behalf of his most excellent majesty of the one part, and the general assembly of the Roman catholics of the said kingdom, for, and on the behalf of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects of the same, on the other part; a true copy of which articles of peace are hereunto annexed: we the lord lieutenant do, by this proclama-

tion, in his majesty's name publish the same, and do in his majesty's name strictly charge and command all his majesty's subjects, and all others inhabiting or residing within his majesty's said kingdom of Ireland, to take notice thereof, and to render due obedience to the same in all the parts thereof.

And as his majesty hath been induced to this peace, out of a deep sense of the miseries and calamities brought upon this his kingdom and people, and out of hope conceived by his majesty, that it may prevent the further effusion of his subjects' blood, redeem them out of all the miseries and calamities under which they now suffer, restore them to all quietness and happiness under his majesty's most gracious government, deliver the kingdom in general from those slaughters, depredations, rapines, and spoils, which always accompany a war, encourage the subjects and others with comfort to betake themselves to trade, traffic, commerce, manufacture, and all other things, which uninterrupted may increase the wealth and strength of the kingdom, beget in all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom a perfect unity amongst themselves, after the too long continued division amongst them: so his majesty assures himself, that all his subjects of this his kingdom (duly considering the great and inestimable benefits which they may find in this peace) will with all duty render due obedience thereunto. And we, in his majesty's name, do hereby declare, That all persons, so rendering due obedience to the said peace, shall be protected, cherished, countenanced, and supported by his majesty, and his royal authority, according to the true intent and meaning of the said articles of peace.

Given at our Castle at Kilkenny, Jan. 17, 1648.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

ARTICLES OF PEACE, made, concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between his excellency James lord marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant-general, and general of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland, for, and on the behalf of, his most excellent majesty, by virtue of the authority wherewith the said lord lieutenant is intrusted, on the one part: and the general assembly of Roman catholics of the said kingdom, for and on the behalf of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects of the same, on the other part.

His majesty's Roman catholic subjects, as thereunto bound by allegiance, duty, and nature, do most humbly and freely acknowledge and recognise their sovereign lord king Charles to be lawful and undoubted king of this kingdom of Ireland, and other his highness' realms and dominions: and his majesty's said Roman catholic subjects, apprehending with a deep sense the sad condition whereunto his majesty is reduced, as a further testimony of their loyalty, do declare, that they and their posterity for ever, to the utmost of their power, even to the expense of their blood and fortunes, will maintain and uphold his majesty, his heirs and lawful successors, their rights, prerogatives, government, and authority, and thereunto freely and heartily will render all due obedience.

Of which faithful and loyal recognition and declaration, so seasonably made by the said Roman catholics, his majesty is graciously pleased to accept, and accordingly to own them his loyal and dutiful subjects: and is further graciously pleased to extend unto them the following graces and securities.

I. **IMPRIMIS**, it is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said lord lieutenant, for, and on the behalf of his most excellent majesty, and the said general assembly, for, and on the behalf of the said Roman catholic subjects; and his majesty is graciously pleased, That it shall be enacted by act to be passed in the next parliament to be held in this kingdom, that all and every the professors of the Roman catholic religion, within the said kingdom, shall be free and exempt from all mulcts, penalties, restraints, and inhibitions, that are or may be imposed upon them by any law, statute, usage, or custom whatsoever, for, or concerning the free exercise of the Roman catholic religion; and that it shall be likewise enacted, that the said Roman catholics, or any of them, shall not be questioned or molested in their persons, goods, or estates, for any matter or cause whatsoever, for, concerning, or by reason of the free exercise of their religion, by virtue of any power, authority, statute, law, or usage whatsoever; and that it shall be further enacted, That no Roman catholic in this kingdom shall be compelled to exercise any religion, form of devotion, or divine service, other than such as shall be agreeable to their conscience; and that they shall not be prejudiced or molested in their persons, goods, or estates, for not observing, using, or hearing the book of ~~com~~.

mon prayer, or any other form of devotion or divine service, by virtue of any colour or statute made in the second year of queen Elizabeth, or by virtue or colour of any other law, declaration of law, statute, custom, or usage, whatsoever, made or declared, or to be made or declared ; and that it shall be further enacted, that the professors of the Roman catholic religion, or any of them, be not bound or obliged to take the oath, commonly called the oath of Supremacy, expressed in the statute of 2 Elizabeth, c. 1, or in any other statute or statutes : and that the said oath shall not be tendered unto them, and that the refusal of the said oath shall not redound to the prejudice of them, or any of them, they taking the oath of allegiance in haec verba, viz. " I, A. B., do hereby acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lord king Charles is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of other his majesty's dominions and countries; and I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, and his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his or their crown and dignity ; and do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs and successors, or to the lord deputy, or other his majesty's chief governor or governors for the time being, all treason or traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear to be intended against his majesty, or any of them : and I do make this recognition and acknowledgment, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian ; so help me God." &c. Nevertheless, the said lord lieutenant doth not hereby intend, that anything in these concessions contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to the granting of churches, church-livings, or the exercise of jurisdiction, the authority of the said lord lieutenant not extending so far ; yet the said lord lieutenant is authorized to give the said Roman catholics full assurance, as hereby the said lord lieutenant doth give unto the said Roman catholics full assurance, that they or any of them shall not be molested in the possession which they have at present of the churches or church-livings, or of the exercise of their respective jurisdictions, as they now exercise the same, until such time as his majesty, upon a full consideration of

the desires of the said Roman catholics in a free parliament to be held in this kingdom, shall declare his further pleasure.

II. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that a free parliament shall be held in this kingdom within six months after the date of these articles of peace, or as soon after as Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or the major part of them, will desire the same, so that by possibility it may be held; and that in the mean time, and until the articles of these presents, agreed to be passed in parliament, be accordingly passed, the same shall be inviolably observed as to the matters therein contained, as if they were enacted in parliament: and that in case a parliament be not called and held in this kingdom within two years next after the date of these articles of peace, then his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other his majesty's chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, will, at the request of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or the major part of them, call a general assembly of the lords and commons of this kingdom, to attend upon the said lord lieutenant, or other his majesty's chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, in such convenient place, for the better settling of the affairs of the kingdom. And it is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, that all matters that by these articles are agreed upon to be passed in parliament, shall be transmitted into England, according to the usual form, to be passed in the said parliament, and that the said acts so agreed upon, and so to be passed, shall receive no disjunction or alteration here in England; pro-

vided that nothing shall be concluded by both or either of the said houses of parliament, which may bring prejudice to any of his majesty's protestant party, or their adherents, or to his majesty's Roman catholic subjects, or their adherents, other than such things as upon this treaty are concluded to be done, or such things as may be proper, for the committee of privileges of either or both houses to take cognizance of, as in such cases heretofore hath been accustomed; and other than such matters as his majesty will be graciously pleased to declare his further pleasure in, to be passed in parliament for the satisfaction of his subjects; and other than such things as shall be propounded to either or both houses by his majesty's lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, during the said parliament, for the advancement of his majesty's service, and the peace of the kingdom; which clause is to admit no construction which may trench upon the articles of peace or any of them; and that both houses of parliament may consider what they shall think convenient touching the repeal or suspension of the statute, commonly called Poyning's Act, intitled, An Act that no parliament be holden in that land, until the Acts be certified into England.

III. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that all acts, ordinances, and orders, made by both or either houses of parliament, to the blemish, dis-honour, or prejudice of his majesty's Roman catholic subjects of this kingdom, or any of them, since the 7th of August, 1641, shall be vacated; and that the same, and all exemplifications and other acts which continue the memory of them, be made void by act to be passed in the next parliament to be held in this kingdom: and that in the mean time the said acts or ordinances, or any of them, shall be no prejudice to the said Roman catholics, or any of them.

IV. Item, It is also concluded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is likewise graciously pleased, that all indictments, attainders, outlawries in this kingdom, and all the processes and other proceedings thereupon, and all letters-patents, grants, leases, customs, bonds, recognizances, and all records, act or acts, office or offices, inquisitions, and all other things depending upon, or taken by reason of the said indictments,

attainders, or outlawries, since the 7th day of August, 1641, in prejudice of the said catholics, their heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, or the widows of them, or any of them, shall be vacated and made void in such sort as no memory shall remain thereof, to the blemish, dishonour, or prejudice of the said catholics, their heirs, executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, or the widows of them, or any of them; and that to be done when the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Doune, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Brown, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neal, Miles Reilie, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or the major part of them, shall desire the same so that by possibility it may be done: and in the mean time, that no such indictments, attainders, outlawries, processes, or any other proceedings thereupon, or any letters-patents, grants, leases, custodums, bonds, recognizances, or any record or acts, office or offices, inquisitions, or any other thing depending upon, or by reason of the said indictments, attainders, or outlawries, shall in any sort prejudice the said Roman catholics, or any of them, but that they and every of them shall be forthwith, upon perfection of these articles, restored to their respective possessions and hereditaments respectively; provided that no man shall be questioned, by reason hereof, for mesne rates or wastes, saving wilful wastes committed after the first day of May last past.

V. Item, It is likewise concluded, accorded, and agreed, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that as soon as possible may be, all impediments which may hinder the said Roman catholics to sit or vote in the next intended parliament, or to choose, or to be chosen, knights and burgesses, to sit or vote there, shall be removed, and that before the said parliament.

VI. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that all debts shall remain as they were upon the twenty-third of October, 1641. Notwithstanding any disposition made or to be made, by virtue or colour of any attainer, outlawry, fugacy, or other

forfeiture; and that no disposition or grant made or to be made, of any such debts, by virtue of any attainder, outlawry, fugacy, or other forfeiture, shall be of force; and this to be passed as an act in the next parliament.

VII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that for the securing of the estates or reputed estates of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and freeholders, or reputed freeholders, as well of Connnaught and county of Clare, or country of Thomond, as of the counties of Limerick and Tipperary, the same to be secured by act of parliament, according to the intent of the twenty-fifth article of the graces granted in the fourth year of his majesty's reign, the tenor whereof, for so much as concerneth the same, doth ensue in these words, viz. We are graciously pleased, that for the inhabitants of Connnaught and country of Thomond and county of Clare, that their several estates shall be confirmed unto them and their heirs against us, and our heirs and successors, by act to be passed in the next parliament to be holden in Ireland, to the end the same may never hereafter be brought into any further question by us, or our heirs and successors. In which act of parliament so to be passed, you are to take care, that all tenures in capite, and all rents and services as are now due, or which ought to be answered unto us out of the said lands and premises, by any letters-patent passed thereof since the first year of king Henry VIII., or found by any office taken from the said first year of king Henry VIII., until the twenty-first of July, 1645, whereby our late dear father, or any of his predecessors, actually received any profit by wardship, liveries, primer-seisins, mesne rates, ousterle mains, or fines of alienation without licence, be again reserved unto us, our heirs and successors, and all the rest of the premises to be holden of our castle of Athlone by knight's service, according to our said late father's letters, notwithstanding any tenures in capite found for us by office, since the twenty-first of July, 1615, and not appearing in any such letters-patent, or offices; within which rule his majesty is likewise graciously pleased, that the said lands in the counties of Limerick and Tipperary be included, but to be held by such rents and tenures only, as they were in the fourth year of his majesty's reign; provided always, that the said lords, knights, gentle-

men, and freeholders of the said province of Connacht, county of Clare, and country of Thomond, and counties of Tipperary and Limerick, shall have and enjoy the full benefit of such composition and agreement which shall be made with his most excellent majesty, for the court of wards, tenures, respites and issues of homage, any clause in this article to the contrary notwithstanding. And as for the lands within the counties of Kilkenny and Wicklow, unto which his majesty was intitled by offices, taken or found in the time of the earl of Strafford's government in this kingdom, his majesty is further graciously pleased, that the state thereof shall be considered in the next intended parliament, where his majesty will assent unto that which shall be just and honourable; and that the like act of limitation of his majesty's titles, for the security of the estates of his subjects of this kingdom, be passed in the said parliament, as was enacted in the twenty-first year of his late majesty king James his reign in England.

VIII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that all incapacities imposed upon the natives of this kingdom or any of them, as natives, by any act of parliament, provisoes in patents or otherwise, be taken away by act to be passed in the said parliament; and that they may be enabled to erect one or more inns of court in or near the city of Dublin or elsewhere, as shall be thought fit by his majesty's lord-lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being; and in case the said inns of court shall be erected before the first day of the next parliament, then the same shall be in such places as his majesty's lord lieutenants or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnell, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall think fit; and that such students, natives of this kingdom, as shall be therein, may take and receive the usual degrees accustomed in any inns of

court, they taking the ensuing oath, viz. "I, A. B., do hereby acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign lord king Charles is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of other his majesty's dominions and countries; and I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, and his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their crown and dignity; and do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs and successors, or to the lord deputy, or other his majesty's chief governor or governors for the time being, all treason or traitorous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear to be intended against his majesty or any of them. And I do here make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian; so help me God," &c. And his majesty is further graciously pleased, that his majesty's Roman catholic subjects may erect and keep free schools for education of youths in this kingdom, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding; and that all the matters assented unto in this article be passed as acts of parliament in the said next parliament.

IX. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that places of command, honour, profit, and trust, in his majesty's armies in this kingdom, shall be, upon perfection of these articles, actually and by particular instances conferred upon his Roman catholic subjects of this kingdom; and that upon the distribution, conferring, and disposing of the places of command, honour, profit, and trust, in his majesty's armies in this kingdom, for the future no difference shall be made between the said Roman catholics, and other his majesty's subjects; but that such distribution shall be made with equal indifference according to their respective merits and abilities; and that all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom, as well Roman catholics as others, may, for his majesty's service and their own security, arm themselves the best they may, wherein they shall have all fitting encouragement. And it is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties,

and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that places of command, honour, profit, and trust, in the civil government in this kingdom, shall be, upon passing of the bills in these articles, mentioned in the next parliament, actually and by particular instances conferred upon his majesty's Roman catholic subjects of this kingdom; and that in the distribution, conferring, and disposal of the places of command, honour, profit, and trust, in the civil government, for the future no difference shall be made between the said Roman catholics, and other his majesty's subjects, but that such distribution shall be made with equal indifference, according to their respective merits and abilities; and that in the distribution of ministerial offices, or places, which now are, or hereafter shall be void in this kingdom, equality shall be used to the Roman catholic natives of this kingdom, as to other his majesty's subjects; and that the command of forts, castles, garrison-towns, and other places of importance, of this kingdom, shall be conferred upon his majesty's Roman catholic subjects of this kingdom, upon perfection of these articles, actually and by particular instances; and that in the distribution, conferring, and disposal of the forts, castles, garrison-towns, and other places of importance in this kingdom, no difference shall be made between his majesty's Roman catholic subjects of this kingdom, and other his majesty's subjects, but that such distribution shall be made with equal indifference, according to their respective merits and abilities; and that until full settlement in parliament, fifteen thousand foot and two thousand and five hundred horse of the Roman catholics of this kingdom shall be of the standing army of this kingdom; and that until full settlement in parliament as aforesaid, the said lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, for the time being, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-

Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, shall diminish or add unto the said number, as they shall see cause from time to time.

X. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that his majesty will accept of the yearly rent, or annual sum of twelve thousand pounds sterling, to be applootted with indifference and equality, and consented to be paid to his majesty, his heirs and successors, in parliament, for and in lieu of the court of wards in this kingdom, tenures in capite, common knight's service, and all other tenures within the cognizance of that court, and for and in lieu of all wardships, primer-seisins, fines, ouster-le-mains, liveries, intrusions, alienations, mesne rates, releases, and all other profits, within the cognizance of the said court, or incident to the said tenures, or any of them, or fines to accrue to his majesty by reason of the said tenures or any of them, and for and in lieu of respites and issues of homage and fines for the same. And the said yearly rent being so applootted and consented unto in parliament as aforesaid, then a bill is to be agreed on in the said parliament, to be passed as an act for the securing of the said yearly rent, or annual sum of twelve thousand pounds, to be applootted, as aforesaid, and for the extinction and taking away of the said court, and other matters aforesaid in this article contained. And it is further agreed, that reasonable compositions shall be accepted for wardships since the twenty-third of October, 1641, and already granted; and that no wardships fallen and not granted, or that shall fall, shall be passed until the success of this article shall appear; and if his majesty be secured as aforesaid, then all wardships fallen since the said twenty-third of October, are to be includcd in the argument aforesaid, upon composition to be made with such as have grants as aforesaid; which composition, to be made with the grantees since the time aforesaid, is to be left to indifferent persons, and the umprage to the said lord lieutenant.

XI. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that no nobleman or peer of this

realm, in parliament, shall be hereafter capable of more proxies than two, and that blank proxies shall be hereafter totally disallowed ; and that if such noblemen or peers of this realm, as have no estates in this kingdom, do not within five years, to begin from the conclusion of these articles, purchase in this kingdom as followeth, viz., a lord baron 200*l.*, per annum, a lord viscount 400*l.* per annum, and an earl 600*l.* per annum, a marquis 800*l.* per annum, a duke 1000*l.* per annum, shall lose their votes in parliament, until such time as they shall afterwards acquire such estates respectively ; and that none be admitted in the house of commons, but such as shall be estated and resident within this kingdom.

XII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that as for and concerning the independency of the parliament of Ireland on the parliament of England, his majesty will leave both houses of parliament in this kingdom to make such declaration therein as shall be agreeable to the laws of the kingdom of Ireland.

XIII. Item, It is further concluded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that the council-table shall contain itself within its proper bounds, in handling matters of state and weight fit for that place ; amongst which the patents of plantation, and the offices whereupon those grants are founded, to be handled, as matters of state, and to be heard and determined by his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors for the time being, and the council publicly at the council-board, and not otherwise ; but titles between party and party, grown after these patents granted, are to be left to the ordinary course of law ; and that the council-table do not hereafter intermeddle with common business, that is within the cognizance of the ordinary courts, nor with the altering of possessions of lands, nor make, nor use private orders, hearings, or references concerning any such matter, nor grant any injunction or order for stay of any suits in any civil cause ; and that parties grieved for or by reason of any proceedings formerly had there may commence their suits, and prosecute the same, in any of his majesty's courts of justice or equity for remedy of their pre-

tended rights, without any restraint or interruption from his majesty, or otherwise, by the chief governor or governors and council of this kingdom: and that the proceedings in the respective precedence courts shall be pursuant and according to his majesty's printed book of instructions, and that they shall contain themselves within the limits prescribed by that book, when the kingdom shall be restored to such a degree of quietness, as they be not necessarily enforced to exceed the same.

XIV. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that as for and concerning one statute made in this kingdom, in the eleventh year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, entitled, An Act for staying of wool-flocks, tallow, and other necessaries within this realm: and another statute made in the said kingdom, in the twelfth year of the reign of the said queen, entitled, An Act

And one other statute made in the said kingdom, in the 13th year of the reign of the said late queen, entitled, An explanation of the act made in a session of this parliament for the staying of wool-flocks, tallow, and other wares and commodities mentioned in the said act, and certain articles added to the same act, all concerning staple or native commodities of this kingdom, shall be repealed, if it shall be so thought fit in the parliament, (excepting for wool and wool-fells,) and that such indifferent persons as shall be agreed on by the said lord lieutenant and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connagh, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knt., sir Nicholas Plunket, knt., sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reilly, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall be authorized by commission under the great seal, to moderate and ascertain the rates of merchandise to be exported or imported out of, or into this kingdom, as they shall think fit.

XV. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that all and every person and persons within this

kingdom, pretending to have suffered by offices found of several countries, territories, lands, and hereditaments in the province of Ulster, and other provinces of this kingdom, in or since the first year of king James his reign, or by attainders or forfeiture, or by pretence and colour thereof, since the said first year of king James, or by other acts depending on the said offices, attainders, and forfeitures, may petition his majesty in parliament for relief and redress ; and if after examination it shall appear to his majesty, the said persons, or any of them, have been injured, then his majesty will prescribe a course to repair the person or persons so suffering, according to justice and honour.

XVI. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that as to the particular cases of Maurice lord viscount de Rupe and Fermoy, Arthur lord viscount Iveagh, sir Edward Fitz-Gerald of Cloanglish, baronet, Charles Mac-Carty Reag, Roger Moore, Anthony Mare, William Fitz-Gerald, Anthony Lince, John Lacy, Collo Mac-brien Mac-Mahone, Daniel Castigni, Edmond Fitz-Gerald of Ballimartir, Lucas Keating, Theobald Roch Fitz-Miles, Thomas Fitz-Gerald of the Valley, John Bourke of Logmaske, Edmond Fitz-Gerald of Ballimallo, James Fitz-William Gerald of Glinane, and Edward Sutton they may petition his majesty in the next parliament, whereupon his majesty will take such consideration of them as shall be just and fit.

XVII. Item, It is likewise concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that the citizens, freemen, burgesses, and former inhabitants of the city of Cork, towns of Youghall and Downegarven, shall be forthwith, upon perfection of these articles, restored to their respective possessions and estates in the said city and towns, respectively, where the same extends not to the endangering of the said garrisons in the said city and towns. In which case, so many of the said citizens and inhabitants as shall not be admitted to the present possession of their houses within the said city and towns, shall be afforded a valuable annual rent for the same, until settlement in parliament, at which time they shall be restored to those their possessions. And it is further agreed, and his majesty is gra-

ciously pleased, that the said citizens, freemen, burgesses, and inhabitants of the said city of Cork, and towns of Youghall and Downegarven, respectively, shall be enabled in convenient time before the next parliament to be held in this kingdom, to choose and return burgesses into the same parliament.

XVIII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that an act of oblivion be passed in the next parliament, to extend to all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom, and their adherents, of all treasons and offences, capital, criminal, and personal, and other offences, of what nature, kind, or quality soever, in such manner, as if such treasons or offences had never been committed, perpetrated, or done: that the said act do extend to the heirs, children, kindred, executors, administrators, wives, widows, dowagers, or assigns of such of the said subjects and their adherents, who died on, before, or since, the 23d of October, 1641. That the said act do relate to the first day of the next parliament; that the said act do extend to all bodies politic and corporate, and their respective successors, and unto all cities, boroughs, counties, baronies, hundreds, towns, villages, thitlings, and every of them within this kingdom, for and concerning all and every of the said offences, or any other offence or offences in them, or any of them committed or done by his majesty's said subjects, or their adherents, or any of them, before, in, or since the 23d of October, 1641. Provided this act shall not extend to be construed to pardon any offence or offences, for which any person or persons have been convicted or attainted on record at any-time before the 23d day of October, in the year of our Lord 1641. That this act shall extend to piracies, and all other offences committed upon the sea by his majesty's said subjects, or their adherents, or any of them; that in this act of oblivion, words of release, acquittal, and discharge be inserted, that no person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, counties, cities, boroughs, baronies, hundreds, towns, villages, thitlings, or any of them within this kingdom, included within the said act, be troubled, impeached, sued, inquieted, or molested, for or by reason of any offence, matter, or thing whatsoever, comprised within the said act: and the said act shall extend to all rents, goods, and chattels taken, detained, or grown due to the

subjects of the one party from the other since the 23d of October, 1641, to the date of these articles of peace; and also to all customs, rents, arrears of rents, to prizes, recognizances, bonds, fines, forfeitures, penalties, and to all other profits, perquisites, and dues which were due, or did or should accrue to his majesty on, before, or since the 23d of October, 1641, until the perfection of these articles, and likewise to all mesne rates, fines of what nature soever, recognizances, judgments, executions thereupon, and penalties whatsoever, and to all other profits due to his majesty since the said 23d of October and before, until the perfection of these articles, for, by reason, or which lay within the survey or recognizance of the court of wards; and also to all respites, issues of homage, and fines for the same: provided this shall not extend to discharge or remit any of the king's debts or subsidies due before the said 23d of October, 1641, which were then or before levied, or taken by the sheriffs, commissioners, receivers, or collectors, and not then or before accounted for, or since disposed to the public use of the said Roman catholic subjects, but that such persons may be brought to account for the same after full settlement in parliament, and not before, unless by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knt., sir Nicholas Plunket, knt., sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, as the said lord lieutenant otherwise shall think fit; provided, that such barbarous and inhuman crimes, as shall be particularized and agreed upon by the said lord lieutenant, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knt., sir Nicholas Plunket, knt., sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, as to the actors and procurers thereof, be left to be tried and adjudged by such indifferent commissioners, as shall be agreed upon by the said lord lieutenant, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord

president of Connagh, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knt., sir Nicholas Plunket, knt., sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fen nell, esquires, or any seven or more of them; and that the power of the said commissioners shall continue only for two years next ensuing the date of their commission, which commission is to issue within six months after the date of these articles; provided also, that the commissioners, to be agreed on for the trial of the said particular crimes to be excepted, shall hear, order, and determine all cases of trust, where relief may or ought in equity to be afforded against all manner of persons, according to the equity and circumstances of every such cases: and his majesty's chief governor or governors, and other magistrates for the time being, in all his majesty's courts of justice, and other his majesty's officers of what condition or quality soever, be bound and required to take notice of and pursue the said act of oblivion, without pleading or suit to be made for the same: and that no clerk or other officers do make out or write out any manner of writs, processes, summons, or other precept, for, concerning, or by reason of any matter, cause, or thing whatsoever, released, forgiven, discharged, or to be forgiven by the said act, under pain c. twenty pounds sterling, and that no sheriff or other officer c. execute any such writ, process, summons, or precept; and that no record, writing, or memory do remain of any offence or offences, released or forgiven, or mentioned to be forgiven by this act; and that all other clauses usually inserted in acts of general pardon or oblivion, enlarging his majesty's grace and mercy, not herein particularized, be inserted and comprised in the said act, when the bill shall be drawn up with the exceptions already expressed and none other. Provided always, that the said act of oblivion shall not extend to any treason, felony, or other offence, or offences, which shall be committed or done from or after the date of these articles, until the first day of the before-mentioned next parliament, to be held in this kingdom. Provided also, that any act or acts, which shall be done by virtue, pretence, or in pursuance of these articles of peace agreed upon, or any act or acts which shall be done by virtue, colour, or pretence of the power or

authority used or exercised by and amongst the confederate Roman catholics after the date of the said articles, and before the said publication, shall not be accounted, taken, construed, or to be, treason, felony, or other offence to be excepted out of the said act of oblivion; provided likewise, that the said act of oblivion shall not extend unto any person or persons, that will not obey and submit unto the peace concluded and agreed on by these articles; provided further, that the said act of oblivion, or anything in this article contained, shall not hinder or interrupt the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, kt., sir Nicholas Plunket, kt., sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esqrs., or any seven or more of them, to call to an account, and proceed against the council and congregation, and the respective supreme councils, commissioners general, appointed hitherto from time to time by the confederate catholics to manage their affairs, or any other person or persons accountable to an accompt for their respective receipts and disbursements, since the beginning of their respective employments under the said confederate catholics, or to acquit or release any arrear of excises, customs, or public taxes, to be accounted for since the 23d of October, 1641, and not disposed of hitherto to the public use, but that the parties therein concerned may be called to an account for the same, as aforesaid, by the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, kt., sir Nicholas Plunket, kt., sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esqrs., or any seven or more of them, the said act or anything therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

XIX. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that an act be passed in the next parliament, prohibiting, that neither the lord deputy or other chief governor or governors, lord chancellor, lord high treasurer, vice-treasurer, chancellor, or any of the barons of the exche-

quer, privy council, or judges of the four courts, be **farmers** of his majesty's customs within this kingdom.

XX. Item, It is likewise concluded, accorded, and agreed, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that an act of parliament pass in this kingdom against monopolies, such as was enacted in England 21 Jacobi Regis, with a further clause of repealing of all grants of monopolies in this kingdom ; and that commissioners be agreed upon by the said lord lieutenant, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knt., sir Nicholas Plunket, kt., sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, to set down the rates for the custom and imposition to be laid on Aquavitæ, Wine, Oil, Yarn, and Tobacco.

XXI. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that such persons as shall be agreed on by the said lord lieutenant and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord Viscount Muskerry, Francis lord Baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knt., sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall be as soon as may be authorized by commission under the great seal, to regulate the court of castle-chamber, and such causes as shall be brought into, and censured in the said court.

XXII. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that two acts lately passed in this kingdom, one prohibiting the ploughing with horses by the tail, and the other prohibiting the burning of oats in the straw, be repealed.

XXIII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, for as much as upon application of agents from this kingdom unto his majesty in the fourth year of his reign, and lately upon humble suit made unto his majesty, by a committee of both houses of the parliament of this

kingdom, order was given by his majesty for redress of several grievances, and for so many of those as are not expressed in the articles, whereof both houses in the next ensuing parliament shall desire the benefit of his majesty's said former directions for redress therein, that the same be afforded them; yet so as for prevention of inconveniences to his majesty's service, that the warning mentioned in the 24th article of the graces in the fourth year of his majesty's reign be so understood, that the warning being left at the persons' dwelling houses be held sufficient warning; and as to the 22d article of the said graces, the process hitherto used in the court of wards do still continue, as hitherto it hath done in that, and hath been used in other English courts; but the court of wards being compounded for, so much of the aforesaid answer as concerns warning and process shall be omitted.

XXIV. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that maritime causes may be determined in this kingdom, without driving of merchants or others to appeal and seek justice elsewhere: and if it shall fall out that there be cause of an appeal, the party grieved is to appeal to his majesty in the chancery of Ireland; and that sentence thereupon to be given by the delegates, to be definitive, and not be questioned upon any further appeal, except it be in the parliament of this kingdom, if the parliament shall then be sitting, otherwise not, this to be by act of parliament; and until the said parliament, the admiralty and maritime causes shall be ordered and settled by the said lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connagh, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them.

XXV. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that his majesty's subjects of this kingdom be eased of all rents and increase of rents lately raised on the

commission or defective titles in the earl of Strafford's government, this to be by act of parliament; and that in the meantime the said rents or increase of rents shall not be written for by any process, or the payment thereof in any sort procured.

XXVI. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that, by act to be passed in the next parliament, all the arrears of interest-money, which did accrue and grow due by way of debt, mortgage, or otherwise, and yet not so satisfied since the 23d of October, 1641, until the perfection of these articles, shall be fully forgiven and be released: and that for and during the space of three years next ensuing, no more shall be taken for use or interest of money than five pounds per centum. And in cases of equity arising through disability, occasioned by the distempers of the times, the considerations of equity to be like unto both parties: but as for mortgages contracted between his majesty's Roman catholic subjects and others of that party, where entry hath been made by the mortgagors against law, and the condition of their mortgages, and detained wrongfully by them without giving any satisfaction to the mortgagees, or where any such mortgagors have made profit of the lands mortgaged above country charges, yet answer no rent, or other consideration to the mortgagees, the parties grieved respectively to be left for relief to a course of equity therein.

XXVII. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that, immediately upon perfection of these articles, the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, shall be authorized by the said lord lieutenant, to proceed in, hear, determine, and execute, in and throughout this kingdom, the ensuing particulars, and all the matters thereupon depending; and that such authority, and other the authorities hereafter mentioned, shall remain of force without revocation, alteration, or diminution, until acts of parliament be passed, according to the purport and intent of these articles; and that in

case of death, miscarriage, disability to serve by reason of sickness or otherwise of any the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, and his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, shall name and authorize another in the place of such as shall be so dead, or shall miscarry himself, or be so disabled, and that the same shall be such person as shall be allowed of by the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them then living. And that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall have power to applot, raise, and levy means with indifferency and equality, by way of excise or otherwise, upon all his majesty's subjects within the said kingdom, their persons, estates, and goods, towards the maintenance of such army or armies as shall be thought fit to continue, and be in pay for his majesty's service, the defence of the kingdom, and other the necessary public charges thereof, and towards the maintenance of the forts, castles, garrisons, and towns, until there shall be a settlement in parliament of both or either party, other than such of the said forts, garrisons, and castles, as from time to time shall be thought fit, by his majesty's chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord

baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, not to be maintained at the charge of the public: provided that his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, be first made acquainted with such taxes, levies, and excises as shall be made, and the manner of levying thereof, and that he approve the same: and to the end that such of the protestant party, as shall submit to the peace, may in the several countries, where any of their estates lie, have equality and indifferency in the assessments and levies, that shall concern their estates in the said several counties.

It is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that in the directions, which shall issue to any such county, for the appplotting, sub-dividing, and levying of the said public assessments, some of the said protestant party shall be joined with others of the Roman Catholic party to that purpose, and for effecting that service; and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall have power to levy the arrears of all excises and other public taxes imposed by the confederate Roman catholics, and yet unpaid, and to call receivers and other accomptants, of all former taxes and all public dues, to a just and strict account, either by themselves, or by such as they or any seven or more of them shall name or appoint; and that the said lord lieutenant, or any other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, shall from time to time issue commissions to such person or persons as shall be named and appointed by the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile,

Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, for letting, setting, and improving the estates of all such person and persons, as shall adhere to any party opposing his majesty's authority, and not submitting to the peace; and that the profits of such estates shall be converted by the said lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, to the maintenance of the king's army and other necessary charges, until settlement by parliament; and that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, knight, sir Nicholas Plunket, knight, sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, shall have power to applot, raise, and levy means, with indifference and equality, for the buying of arms and ammunition, and for the entertaining of frigates in such proportion as shall be thought fit by his majesty's lord lieutenant or other chief governors of this kingdom for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, kt., sir Nicholas Plunket, kt., sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them; the said arms and ammunition to be laid up in such magazines, and under the charge of such persons as shall be agreed on by the said lord lieutenant, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, Alexander Mac-Donnel, esquire, sir Lucas Dillon, kt., sir Nicholas Plunket, kt., sir Richard Barnwall, baronet, Jeffery Browne, Donnogh O Callaghan, Tyrlah O Neile, Miles Reily, and Gerald Fennell, esquires, or any seven or more of them, and to be disposed of, and the said frigates to be employed for his majesty's service, and the public use and benefit of this kingdom of Ireland; and that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connacht, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of

Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, shall have power to applot, raise, and levy means, with indifference and equality, by way of excise or otherwise, in the several cities, corporate towns, counties, and part of counties, now within the quarters and only upon the estates of the said confederate Roman catholics, all such sum and sums of money as shall appear to the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, to be really due, for and in the discharge of the public engagements of the said confederate catholics, incurred and grown due before the conclusion of these articles; and that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, shall be authorized to appoint receivers, collectors, and all other officers, for such monies as shall be assessed, taxed, or apploated, in pursuance of the authorities mentioned in this article, and for the arrears of all former applotments, taxes, and other public dues yet unpaid: and that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, in case of refractories or delinquency, may distrain and imprison, and cause such delinquents to be distrained and imprisoned. And the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, make perfect books of all such monies as shall be apploated, raised, or levied, out of which books they are to make several and respective abstracts, to be delivered under their hands, or the hands of any seven or more of them, to the several and respective collectors, which shall be appointed to levy and receive the same. And that a duplicate of the said books, under the hands of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, be delivered unto his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, whereby a perfect account may be given; and that the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh.

lord president of Connagh, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, shall have power to call the council and congregation, and the respective supreme councils, and commissioners general, appointed hitherto from time to time, by the said confederate Roman catholics, to manage their publick affairs, and all other persons accountable, to an account, for all their receipts and disbursements since the beginning of their respective employments under the confederate Roman catholics.

XXVIII. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that for the preservation of the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom, the said lord lieutenant, and the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connagh, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, shall for the present agree upon such persons, who are to be authorized by commission under the great seal to be commissioners of the peace, oyer and terminer, assizes and gaol delivery, in and throughout the kingdom, to continue during pleasure, with such power as justices of the peace, oyer and terminer, assizes and gaol-delivery in former time of peace have usually had, which is not to extend unto any crime or offence committed before the first of May last past, and to be qualified with power to hear and determine all civil causes coming before them, not exceeding ten pounds: provided that they shall not intermeddle with titles of lands; provided likewise, the authority of such commissioners shall not extend to question any person or persons, for any shipping, cattle, or goods, heretofore taken by either party from the other, or other injuries done contrary to the articles of cessation, concluded by and with the said Roman catholic party in or since May last, but that the same shall be determined by such indifferent persons as the lord lieutenant, by the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costelogh, lord president of Connagh, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, shall think fit, to the end that speedy and equal justice may be done to all parties grieved; and the said commissioners are to make their estreats as accustomed of peace, and shall take the ensuing oath, viz.

You shall swear, that as justice of the peace, oyer and terminer, assizes and gaol-delivery in the counties of A. B. in all articles of the commission to you directed, you shall do equal right to the poor and to the rich, after your cunning and wit and power, and after the laws and customs of the realm, and in pursuance of these articles: and you shall not be of counsel of any quarrel hanging before you; and the issues, fines, and amerciaments, which shall happen to be made, and all forfeitures which shall happen before you, you shall cause to be entered without any concealment or embezzling, and send to the court of exchequer, or to such other place as his majesty's lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, shall appoint, until there may be access unto the said court of exchequer; you shall not lett for gift or other cause, but well and truly you shall do your office of justice of peace, oyer and terminer, assizes and gaol-delivery in that behalf; and that you take nothing for your office of justice of the peace, oyer and terminer, assizes and gaol-delivery to be done, but of the king, and fees accustomed; and you shall not direct, or cause to be directed, any warrant by you, to be made to the parties, but you shall direct them to the sheriffs and bailiffs of the said counties respectively, or other the king's officers or ministers, or other indifferent persons, to do execution thereof. So help your God, &c.

And that as well in the said commission, as in all other commissions and authorities to be issued in pursuance of the present articles, this clause shall be inserted, viz. That all officers, civil and martial, shall be required to be aiding and assisting and obedient unto the said commissioners, and other persons, to be authorized as aforesaid in the execution of their respective powers.

XXIX. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that his majesty's Roman catholic subjects do continue the possession of such of his majesty's cities, garrisons, towns, forts, and castles, which are within their now quarters, until settlement by parliament, and to be commanded, ruled, and governed in chief, upon occasion of necessity, (as to the martial and military affairs,) by such as his majesty, or his chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, shall appoint; and the said appointment

to be by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connagh, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them; and his majesty's chief governor or governors, is to issue commissions accordingly to such persons as shall be so named and appointed as aforesaid, for the executing of such command, rule, or government, to continue until all the particulars in these present articles, agreed on to pass in parliament, shall be accordingly passed; only in case of death or misbehaviour, such other person or persons to be appointed for the said command, rule, or government, to be named and appointed in the place or places of him or them, who shall so die or misbehave themselves, as the chief governor or governors for the time being, by the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connagh, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, shall think fit, and to be continued until a settlement in parliament as aforesaid.

XXX. Item, It is further concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that all customs and tenths of prizes belonging to his majesty, which from the perfection of these articles shall fall due within this kingdom, shall be paid unto his majesty's receipt, or until recourse may be had thereunto in the ordinary legal way, unto such person or persons, and in such place or places, and under such controls, as the lord lieutenant shall appoint to be disposed of, in order to the defence and safety of the kingdom, and the defraying of other the necessary public charges thereof, for the ease of the subjects in other their levies, charges, and applotments. And that all and every person or persons, who are at present entrusted and employed by the said Roman catholics, in the entries, receipts, collections, or otherwise, concerning the said customs and tenths of prizes, do continue their respective employments in the same, until full settlement in parliament, accountable to his majesty's receipts, or until recourse may be had thereunto; as the said lord lieutenant shall appoint as aforesaid, other than to such, and so many of them, as to the chief governor or governors for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of

Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c. or any seven or more of them, shall be thought fit to be altered; and then, and in such case, or in case of death, fraud, or misbehaviour, or other alteration of any such person or persons, then such other person or persons to be employed therein, as shall be thought fit by the chief governor or governors for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them; and when it shall appear, that any person or persons, who shall be found faithful to his majesty, hath right to any of the offices or places about the said customs, whereunto he or they may not be admitted until settlement in parliament as aforesaid, that a reasonable compensation shall be afforded to such person or persons for the same.

XXXI. Item, As for and concerning his majesty's rents, payable at Easter next, and from thenceforth to grow due, until a settlement in parliament, it is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that the said rents be not written for, or levied, until a full settlement in parliament; and in due time upon application to be made to the said lord lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, by the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, for remittal of those rents, the said lord lieutenant, or any other chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, shall intimate their desires, and the reason thereof, to his majesty, who, upon consideration of the present condition of this kingdom, will declare his gracious pleasure therein, as shall be just, and honourable, and satisfactory to the reasonable desires of his subjects.

XXXII. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed, by and between the said parties, and his majesty is graciously pleased, that the commissioners of oyer and terminer and gaol-delivery, to be named as aforesaid, shall have power to hear and determine all murders, manslaughters, rapes, stealths, burning of houses and corn in rick or stack, robberies, burglaries, forcible entries, detainers of possessions, and other

offences committed or done, and to be committed and done since the first day of May last past, until the first day of the next parliament, these present articles, or anything therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding ; provided, that the authority of the said commissioners shall not extend to question any person or persons, for doing or committing any act whatsoever, before the conclusion of this treaty, by virtue or colour of any warrant or direction from those in public authority among the confederate Roman catholics, nor unto any act, which shall be done after the perfecting and concluding of these articles, by virtue or pretence of any authority, which is now by these articles agreed on ; provided also, that the said commission shall not continue longer than the first day of the next parliament.

XXXIII. Item, It is concluded, accorded by and between the said parties, and his majesty is further graciously pleased, that, for the determining such differences which may arise between his majesty's subjects within this kingdom, and the prevention of inconvenience and disquiet, which through want of due remedy in several causes may happen, there shall be judicatures established in this kingdom, and that the persons to be authorized in them shall have power to do all such things as shall be proper and necessary for them to do ; and the said lord lieutenant, by and with the advice and consent of the said Thomas lord viscount Dillon of Costologh, lord president of Connaght, Donnogh lord viscount Muskerry, Francis lord baron of Athunry, &c., or any seven or more of them, shall name the said persons so to be authorized, and to do all other things incident unto and necessary for the settling of the said intended judicatures.

XXXIV. Item, At the instance, humble suit, and earnest desire of the general assembly of the confederate Roman catholics, it is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon that the Roman catholic regular clergy of this kingdom, behaving themselves conformable to these articles of peace, shall not be molested in the possessions which at present they have of, and in the bodies, sites, and precincts of such abbeys and monasteries belonging to any Roman catholic within the said kingdom, until settlement by parliament, and that the said clergy shall not be molested in the enjoying such pensions as hitherto since the wars they enjoyed for their respective

livelihoods from the said Roman catholics ; and the sites and precincts hereby intended, are declared to be the body of the abbey, one garden and orchard to each abbey if any there be, and what else is contained within the walls, meers, or ancient fences or ditch, that doth supply the wall thereof, and no more.

XXXV. Item, It is concluded, accorded, and agreed, by and between the said parties, that as to all other demands of the said Roman catholics, for or concerning all or any the matters proposed by them, not granted or assented unto in and by the aforesaid articles, the said Roman catholics be referred to his majesty's gracious favour and further concessions. In witness wherof the said lord lieutenant, for and on the behalf of his most excellent majesty, to the one part of these articles remaining with the said Roman catholics, hath put his hand and seal: and sir Richard Blake, knt., in the chair of the general assembly of the said Roman catholics, by order, command, and unanimous consent of the said catholics in full assembly, to the other part thereof remaining with the said lord lieutenant, hath put to his hand and the public seal hitherto used by the said Roman catholics, the 17th of January, 1648, and in the 24th year of the reign of our sovereign lord Charles by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c.

SIR,—I have not thus long forborne to invite you, with those under your command, to a submission to his majesty's authority in me, and a conjunction with me, in the ways of his service, out of any the least aversion I had to you, or any of them, or out of any disesteem I had to your power, to advance or impede the same; but out of my fear, whiles those, that have of late usurped power over the subjects of England, held forth the least colourable shadow of moderation in their intentions towards the settlement of church or state, and that in some tolerable way with relation to religion, the interest of the king and crown, the freedom of parliament, the liberties of the subject, any addresses from me proposing the withdrawing of that party from those thus professing, from whom they have received some, and expected further support, would have been but coldly received, and any determination thereupon deferred, in hope and expectation of the forementioned settlement; or that you yourself, who certainly have not wanted a foresight

of the sad confusion now covering the face of England, would have declared with me, the lord Inchequeen, and the protestant army in Munster, in prevention thereof; yet my fear was, it would have been as difficult for you to have carried with you the main body of the army under your command, (not so clear-sighted as yourself,) as it would have been dangerous to you, and those with you well-inclined, to have attempted it without them; but now that the mask of hypocrisy, by which the independent army hath ensnared and enslaved all estates and degrees of men, is laid aside, now that, bare-faced, they evidently appear to be the subverters of true religion, and to be the protectors and inviters not only of all false ones, but of irreligion and atheism, now that they have barbarously and inhumanly laid violent, sacrilegious hands upon and murdered God's anointed, and our king, not as heretofore some paricides have done, to make room for some usurper, but in a way plainly manifesting their intentions to change the monarchy of England into anarchy, unless their aim be first to constitute an elective kingdom; and Cromwell or some such John of Leyden being elected, then by the same force by which they have thus far compassed their ends, to establish a perfect Turkish tyranny; now that of the three estates of king, lords, and commons, whereof in all ages parliaments have consisted, there remains only a small number, and they the dregs and scum of the house of commons, picked and awed by the army, a wicked remnant, left for no other end, than yet further if it be possible to delude the people, with the name of a parliament: the king being murdered, the lords and the rest of the commons being by unheard-of violence at several times forced from the houses, and some imprisoned. And now that there remains no other liberty in the subject but to profess blasphemous opinions, to revile and tread under foot magistracy, to murder magistrates, and oppress and undo all that are not like-minded with them: now I say, that I cannot doubt but that you and all with you under your command will take this opportunity to act and declare against so monstrous and unparalleled a rebellion, and that you and they will cheerfully acknowledge, and faithfully serve and obey our gracious king Charles II., undoubted heir of his father's crown and virtues; under whose right and conduct we may by God's assistance restore protestant religion to purity, and therein settle it, par-

liaments to their freedom, good laws to their force, and fellow-subjects to their just liberties; wherein how glorio and blessed a thing it will be, to be so considerably instrumental, as you may now make yourself, I leave to you now to consider. And though I conceive there are not any motives relating to some particular interest to be mentioned after these so weighty considerations, which are such as the world hath not been at any time furnished with; yet I hold it my part to assure you, that as there is nothing you can reasonably propose for the safety, satisfaction, or advantage of yourself, or of any that shall adhere to you in what I desire, that I shall not to the uttermost of my power provide for; so there is nothing I would, nor shall more industriously avoid, than those necessities arising from my duty to God and man, that may by your rejecting this offer force me to be a sad instrument of shedding English blood, which in such case must on both sides happen. If this overture find place with you, as I earnestly wish it may, let me know with what possible speed you can, and if you please by the bearer, in what way you desire it shall be drawn on to a conclusion. For in that, as well as in the substance, you shall find all ready compliance from me, that desire to be your affectionate friend to serve you,

Carrick, March 9, 1648.

ORMOND.

For Colonel Michael Jones, Governor of Dublin.

MY LORD,—Your lordship's of the ninth I received the twelfth instant, and therein have I your lordship's invitation to a conjunction with yourself (I suppose) as lord lieutenant of Ireland, and with others now united with the Irish, and with the Irish themselves also.

As I understand not how your lordship should be invested with that power pretended, so am I very well assured, that it is not in the power of any without the parliament of England, to give and assure pardon to those bloody rebels, as by the act to that end passed may appear more fully. I am also well assured, that the parliament of England would never assent to such a peace, (such as is that of your lordship's with the rebels,) wherein is little or no provision made either for the protestants or the protestant religion. Nor can I understand how the protestant religion should be settled and restored to

its purity by an army of papists, or the protestant interests maintained by those very enemies, by whom they have been spoiled and there slaughtered: and very evident it is, that both the protestants and protestant religion are, in that your lordship's treaty, left as in the power of the rebels, to be by them borne down and rooted out at pleasure.

As for that consideration by your lordship offered of the present and late proceedings in England, I see not how it may be a sufficient motive to me (or any other in like trust for the parliament of England in the service of the kingdom) to join with those rebels, upon any the pretences in that your lordship's letter mentioned; for therein were there a manifest betraying that trust reposed in me, in deserting the service and work committed to me, in joining with those I shall oppose, and in opposing whom I am obliged to serve.

Neither conceive I it any part of my work and care, to take notice of any whatsoever proceedings of state, foreign to my charge and trust here, especially they being found hereunto apparently destructive.

Most certain it is, and former ages have approved it, that the intermeddling of governors and parties in this kingdom, with sidings and parties in England, have been the very betraying of this kingdom to the Irish, whiles the British forces here had been thereupon called off, and the place therein laid open, and as it were given up to the common enemy.

It is what your lordship might have observed in your former treaty with the rebels, that, upon your lordship's thereupon withdrawing, and sending hence into England the most considerable part of the English army then commanded by you; thereby was the remaining British party not long after over-powered, and your quarters by the Irish overrun to the gates of Dublin, yourself also reduced to that low condition, as to be besieged in this very city, (the metropolis and principal citadel of the kingdom,) and that by those rebels, who till then could never stand before you: and what the end hath been of that party, also so sent by your lordship into England, (although the flower and strength of the English army here, both officers and soldiers,) hath been very observable.

And how much the dangers are at present (more than in former ages) of hazarding the English interest in this kingdom, by sending any parties hence into any other kingdom

upon any pretences whatsoever, is very apparent, as in the generality of the rebellion, now more than formerly; so considering your lordship's present conclusions with and concessions to the rebels, wherein they are allowed the continual possession of all the cities, forts, and places of strength, whereof they stood possessed at the time of their treaty with your lordship, and that they are to have a standing force (if I well remember) of 15,000 foot and 2,500 horse, (all of their own party, officers and soldiers,) and they (with the whole kingdom) to be regulated by a major part of Irish trustees, chosen by the rebels themselves, as persons for their interests and ends, to be by them confided in, without whom nothing is to be acted. Therein I cannot but mind your lordship or what hath been sometimes by yourself delivered, as your sense in this particular; that the English interest in Ireland must be preserved by the English, and not by Irish; and upon that ground (if I be not deceived) did your lordship then capitulate with the parliament of England, from which clear principle I am sorry to see your lordship now receding.

As to that by your lordship menaced us here, of blood and force, if dissenting from your lordship's ways and designs, for my particular I shall (my lord) much rather choose to suffer in so doing, (for therein shall I do what is becoming, and answerable to my trust,) than to purchase myself on the contrary the ignominious brand of perfidy by any allurements of whatsoever advantages offered me.

But very confident I am of the same divine power, which hath still followed me in this work, and will still follow me; and in that trust doubt nothing of thus giving your lordship plainly this my resolution in that particular. So I remain,

Your lordship's humble servant,

Dublin, March 14, 1648.

(Signed) **MIC. JONES.**

For the lord of Ormond these.

BY THE LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL OF IRELAND.

ORMOND,—Whereas our late sovereign lord king Charles, of happy memory, hath been lately by a party of his rebellious subjects of England most traitorously, maliciously, and inhumanly put to death and murdered; and forasmuch as his majesty that now is, Charles by the grace of God king of

England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, is son and heir of his said late majesty, and therefore by the laws of the land, of force, and practised in all ages, is to inherit. We therefore, in discharge of the duty we owe unto God, our allegiance and loyalty to our sovereign, holding it fit him so to proclaim in and through this his majesty's kingdom, do by this our present proclamation declare and manifest to the world, That Charles II., son and heir of our sovereign lord king Charles I., of happy memory, is, by the grace of God, the undoubted king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Given at Carrick, Feb. 26th, 1648.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A NECESSARY REPRESENTATION

Of the present evils and imminent dangers to religion, laws, and liberties, arising from the late and present practices of the sectarian party in England: together with an exhortation to duties relating to the covenant, unto all within our charge, and to all the well-affected within this kingdom, by the presbytery at Belfast, February the 15th, 1649.

When we seriously consider the great and many duties which we owe unto God and his people, over whom he hath made us overseers, and for whom we must give an account; and when we behold the laudable examples of the worthy ministers of the province of London, and of the commissioners of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, in their free and faithful testimonies against the insolencies of the sectarian party in England: considering also the dependency of this kingdom upon the kingdom of England, and remembering how against strong oppositions we were assisted by the Lord the last year in discharge of the like duty, and how he punished the contempt of our warning upon the despisers thereof: we find ourselves, as necessitated, so the more encouraged, to cast in our mite in the treasury, lest our silence should involve us in the guilt of unfaithfulness, and our people in security and neglect of duties.

In this discharge of the trust put upon us by God, we would not be looked upon as sowers of sedition, or broachers of national and divisive motions; our record is in heaven,

that nothing is more hateful unto us, nor less intended by us, and therefore we shall not fear the malicious and wicked aspersions which we know Satan by his instruments is ready to cast, not only upon us, but on all who sincerely endeavour the advancement of reformation.

What of late have been, and now are, the insolent and presumptuous practices of the sectaries in England, is not unknown to the world: for, First, notwithstanding their specious pretences for religion and liberties, yet their late and present actings, being therewith compared, do clearly evidence, that they love a rough garment to deceive; since they have with a high hand despised the oath, in breaking the covenant, which is so strong a foundation to both, whilst they load it with slighting reproaches, calling it a bundle of particular and contrary interests, and a snare to the people; and likewise labour to establish by laws an universal toleration of all religions, which is an innovation overturning of unity in religion, and so directly repugnant to the word of God, the two first articles of our solemn covenant, which is the greatest wickedness in them to violate, since many of the chiefest of themselves have, with their hands, testified to the most high God, sworn and sealed it.

Moreover, their great disaffection to the settlement of religion, and so their future breach of covenant, doth more fully appear by their strong oppositions to presbyterian government, (the hedge and bulwark of religion,) whilst they express their hatred to it more than to the worst of errors, by excluding it under the name of compulsion; when they embrace even paganism and Judaism in the arms of toleration. Not to speak of their aspersions upon it, and the assertors thereof, as antichristian and popish, though they have deeply sworn to maintain the same government in the first article of the covenant, as it is established in the church of Scotland, which they now so despicably blaspheme.

Again, it is more than manifest, that they seek not the vindication, but the extirpation of laws and liberties, as appears by their seizing on the person of the king, and at their pleasures removing him from place to place, not only without the consent, but (if we mistake not) against a direct ordinance of parliament: their violent surprising, imprisoning, and secluding many of the most worthy members of the honourable house

of commons, directly against a declared privilege of parliament, (an action certainly without parallel in any age,) and their purposes of abolishing parliamentary power for the future, and establishing of a representative (as they call it) instead thereof. Neither hath their fury staid here ; but without all rule or example, being but private men, they have proceeded to their trial of the king, against both interest and protestation of the kingdom of Scotland, and the former public declarations of both kingdoms, (besides the violent haste, rejecting the hearing of any defences,) with cruel hands have put him to death ; an act so horrible, as no history, divine or human, hath laid a precedent of the like.

These and many other their detestable insolencies may abundantly convince every unbiassed judgment, that the present practice of the sectaries and their abettors do directly overturn the laws and liberties of the kingdoms, root out lawful and supreme magistracy, (the just privileges whereof we have sworn to maintain,) and introduce a fearful confusion and lawless anarchy.

The Spirit of God by Solomon tells us, Prov. xxx. 21, That a servant, to reign, is one of the four things for which the earth is disquieted, and which it cannot bear : we wonder nothing, that the earth is disquieted for these things ; but we wonder greatly, if the earth can bear them. And albeit the Lord so permit, that folly be set in great dignity, and the rich sit in low place ; "that servants ride upon horses, and princes walk as servants upon the earth," Eccles. x. 6, 7, yet the same wise man saith, Prov. xix. "Delight is not seemly for a fool, much less for a servant to have rule over princes."

When we consider these things, we cannot but declare and manifest our utter dislike and detestation of such unwarrantable practices, directly subverting our covenant, religion, laws, and liberties. And as watchmen in Sion, warn all the lovers of truth and well-affected to the covenant, carefully to avoid compliance with, or not bearing witness against horrid insolencies, lest partaking with them in their sins, they also be partakers of their plagues. Therefore in the spirit of meekness, we earnestly entreat, and in the authority of Jesus Christ (whose servants we are) charge and obtest all, who resolve to adhere unto truth and the covenant, diligently to observe, and conscientiously to perform these following duties.

First, That, according to our solemn covenant, every one study more the power of godliness and personal reformation of themselves and families; because, for the great breach of this part of the covenant, God is highly offended with these lands, and justly provoked to permit men to be the instruments of our misery and afflictions.

Secondly, That every one in their station and calling earnestly contend for the faith, which was once delivered to the saints, Jude 3, and seek to have their hearts established with grace, that they be not unstable and wavering, carried about with every wind of doctrine; but that they receive the truth in love, avoiding the company of such as withdraw from and vilify the public ordinances; speak evil of church-government; invent damnable errors, under the specious pretence of a gospel-way and new light; and highly extol the persons and courses of notorious sectaries, lest God give them over to strong delusions (the plague of these times) that they may believe lies, and be damned.

Thirdly, That they would not be drawn by counsel, command, or example, to shake off the ancient and fundamental government of these kingdoms by king and parliament, which we are so deeply engaged to preserve by our solemn covenant, as they would not be found guilty of the great evil of these times, (condemned by the Holy Ghost,) the despising of dominion and speaking evil of dignities.

Fourthly, That they do cordially endeavour the preservation of the union amongst the well-affected in the kingdoms, not being swayed by any national respect: remembering that part of the covenant, "that we shall not suffer ourselves, directly nor indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided or withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction."

And, Finally, Albeit there be more present hazard from the power of sectaries, (as were from malignants the last year,) yet we are not ignorant of the evil purposes of malignants, even at this time, in all the kingdoms, and particularly in this; and for this cause, we exhort every one with equal watchfulness to keep themselves free from associating with such, or from swerving in their judgments to malignant principles; and to avoid all such persons as have been from the beginning known opposers of reformation, refusers of the

covenant, combining themselves with papists and other notorious malignants, especially such who have been chief promoters of the late engagement against England, calumniators of the work of reformation, in reputing the miseries of the present times unto the advancers thereof; and that their just hatred to sectaries incline not their minds to favour malignants, or to think, that, because of the power of sectaries, the cause of God needs the more to fear the enmity, or to stand in need of the help of malignants.

OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE ARTICLES OF PEACE
WITH THE IRISH REBELS,
ON THE LETTER OF ORMOND TO COLONEL JONES,
AND THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PRESBYTERY AT BELFAST.

ALTHOUGH it be a maxim much agreeable to wisdom, that just deeds are the best answer to injurious words ; and actions of whatever sort, their own plainest interpreters ; yet since our enemies can find the leisure both ways to offend us, it will be requisite, we should be found in neither of those ways neglectful of our just defence : to let them know, that sincere and upright intentions can certainly with as much ease deliver themselves into words as into deeds.

Having therefore seen of late those articles of peace granted to the papist rebels of Ireland, as special graces and favours from the late king, in reward, most likely, of their work done, and in his name and authority confirmed and ratified by James Earl of Ormond ; together with his letter to Colonel Jones, governor of Dublin, full of contumely and dishonour, both to the parliament and army : and on the other side, an insolent and seditious representation from the Scots presbytery at Belfast in the north of Ireland, no less dishonourable to the state, and much about the same time brought hither : there will be needful as to the same slanderous aspersions but one and the same vindication against them both. Nor can we sever them in our notice and resentment, though one part entitled a presbytery, and would be thought a protestant assembly, since their own unexampled virulence hath wrapt

them into the same guilt, made them accomplices and assistants to the abhorred Irish rebels, and with them at present to advance the same interest : if we consider both their calumnies, their hatred, and the pretended reasons of their hatred to be the same ; the time also and the place concurring, as that there lacks nothing but a few formal words, which may be easily dissembled to make the perfectest conjunction ; and between them to divide that island.

As for these articles of peace made with those inhuman rebels and papists of Ireland by the late king, as one of his last masterpieces, we may be confidently persuaded, that no true-born Englishman can so much as barely read them without indignation and disdain, that those bloody rebels, and so proclaimed and judged of by the king himself after the merciless and barbarous massacre of so many thousand English, (who had used their right and title to that country with such tenderness and moderation, and might otherwise have secured themselves with ease against their treachery,) should be now graced and rewarded with such freedoms and enlargements, as none of their ancestors could ever merit by their best obedience, which at best was always treacherous ; to be enfranchised with full liberty equal to their conquerors, whom the just revenge of ancient piracies, cruel captivities, and the causeless infestation of our coast had warrantably called over, and the long prescription of many hundred years, besides what other titles are acknowledged by their own Irish parliament, had fixed and seated in that soil with as good a right as the merest natives.

These, therefore, by their own foregoing demerits and provocations justly made our vassals, are by the first article of this peace advanced to a condition of freedom superior to what any English protestants durst have demanded. For what else can be the meaning to discharge them the common oath of supremacy, especially being papists, (for whom principally that oath was intended,) but either to resign them the more into their own power, or to set a mark of dishonour upon the British loyalty, by trusting Irish rebels for one single oath of allegiance, as much as all his subjects of Britain for the double swearing both of allegiance and supremacy ?

The second article puts it into the hands of an Irish parliament to repeal, or to suspend, if they think convenient, the

act usually called Poyning's Act, which was the main, and yet the civilest and most moderate acknowledgment imposed of their dependence on the crown of England; whereby no parliament could be summoned there, no bill be passed, but was first to be transmitted and allowed under the great seal of England. The recalling of which act tends openly to invest them with a law-giving power of their own, enables them by degrees to throw off all subjection to this realm, and renders them (who by their endless treasons and revolts have deserved to hold no parliament at all, but to be governed by edicts and garrisons) as absolute and supreme in that assembly, as the people of England in their own land. And the twelfth-article grants them in express words, that the Irish parliament shall be no more dependent on the parliament of England, than the Irish themselves shall declare agreeable to the laws of Ireland.

The two and twentieth article, more ridiculous than dangerous, coming especially from such a serious knot of lords and politicians, obtains, that those acts prohibiting to plough with horses by the tail, and burn oats in the straw, be repealed ; enough, if nothing else, to declare in them a disposition not only sottish, but indocile, and averse from all civility and amendment : and what hopes they give for the future, who, rejecting the ingenuity of all other nations to improve and wax more civil by a civilizing conquest, though all these many years better shewn and taught, prefer their own absurd and savage customs before the most convincing evidence of reason and demonstration : a testimony of their true barbarism and obdurate wilfulness, to be expected no less in other matters of greatest moment.

Yet such as these, and thus affected, the ninth article entrusts with the militia ; a trust which the king swore by God at Newmarket he would not commit to his parliament of England, no, not for an hour. And well declares the confidence he had in Irish rebels, more than in his loyalest subjects. He grants them moreover, till the performance of all these articles, that fifteen thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse shall remain a standing army of papists at the beck and command of Dillon, Muskerry, and other arch-rebels, with power also of adding to that number as they shall see cause. And by other articles allows them the constituting of magistrates and judges in all causes, whom they think fit :

and till a settlement to their own minds, the possession of all those towns and countries within their new quarters, being little less than all the island, besides what their cruelty hath dispeopled and laid waste. And lastly, the whole managing both of peace and war is committed to papists, and the chief leaders of that rebellion.

Now let all men judge what this wants of utter alienating and acquitting the whole province of Ireland from all true fealty and obedience to the commonwealth of England. Which act of any king against the consent of his parliament, though no other crime were laid against him, might of itself strongly conduce to the disenthroning him of all. In France Henry the Third, demanding leave in greatest exigencies to make sale of some crown-lands only, and that to his subjects, was answered by the parliament then at Blois, that a king in no case, though of extremest necessity, might alienate the patrimony of his crown, whereof he is but only usufructuary, as civilians term it, the propriety remaining ever to the kingdom, not to the king. And in our own nation, king John, for resigning, though unwillingly, his crown to the pope's legate, with little more hazard to his kingdom than the payment of one thousand marks, and the unsightliness of such a ceremony, was deposed by his barons, and Lewis, the French king's son, elected in his room. And to have carried only the jewels, plate, and treasure into Ireland, without consent of the nobility, was one of those impeachments that condemned Richard the Second to lose his crown.

But how petty a crime this will seem to the alienating of a whole kingdom, which in these articles of peace we see as good as done by the late king, not to friends but to mortal enemies, to the accomplishment of his own interests and ends, wholly separate from the people's good, may without aggravation be easily conceived. Nay, by the covenant itself, since that so cavillously is urged against us, we are enjoined in the fourth article, with all faithfulness to endeavour the bringing all such to public trial and condign punishment, as shall divide one kingdom from another. And what greater dividing than by a pernicious and hostile peace to disalliege a whole feudary kingdom from the ancient dominion of England? Exception we find there of no person whatsoever; and if the king, who hath actually done this, or any for him, claim a

privilege above justice, it is again demanded by what express law either of God or man, and why he whose office is to execute law and justice upon all others, should set himself like a demigod in lawless and unbounded anarchy ; refusing to be accountable for that authority over men naturally his equals, which God himself without a reason given is not wont to exercise over his creatures ? And if God, the nearer to be acquainted with mankind and his frailties, and to become our priest, made himself a man, and subject to the law, we gladly would be instructed why any mortal man, for the good and welfare of his brethren being made a king, should by clean contrary motion make himself a god, exalted above law ; the readiest way to become utterly unsensible, both of his human condition, and his own duty.

And how securely, how smoothly, with how little touch or sense of any commiseration, either princely or so much as human, he hath sold away that justice so oft demanded, and so oft by himself acknowledged to be due, for the blood of more than two hundred thousand of his subjects, that never hurt him, never disobeyed him, assassinated and cut in pieces by those Irish barbarians, to give the first promoting, as is more than thought, to his own tyrannical designs in England, will appear by the eighteenth article of his peace ; wherein, without the least regard of justice to avenge the dead, while he thirsts to be avenged upon the living, to all the murders, massacres, treasons, piracies, from the very fatal day wherein that rebellion first broke out, he grants an act of oblivion. If this can be justified or not punished in whomsoever, while there is any faith, any religion, any justice upon earth, there can no reason be alleged, why all things are not left to confusion. And thus much be observed in brief concerning these articles of peace made by the late king with his Irish rebels.

The letter of Ormond sent to Colonel Jones, governor of Dublin, attempting his fidelity, which the discretion and true worth of that gentleman hath so well answered and repulsed, had passed here without mention, but that the other part of it, not content to do the errand of treason, roves into a long digression of evil and reproachful language to the parliament and army of England, which though not worth their notice, as from a crew of rebels whose inhumanities are long since become the horror and execration of all that hear them, yet in the pursu-

ance of a good endeavour, to give the world all due satisfaction of the present doings, no opportunity shall be omitted.

He accuses first, “That we are the subverters of religion the protectors and inviters not only of all false ones, but of irreligion and atheism;” an accusation that no man living could more unjustly use than our accuser himself; and which, without a strange besottedness, he could not expect but to be retorted upon his own head; all men who are true protestants, of which number he gives out to be one, know not a more immediate and killing subverter of all true religion than Antichrist, whom they generally believe to be the pope and church of Rome; he therefore, who makes peace with this grand enemy and persecutor of the true church, he who joins with him, strengthens him, gives him root to grow up and spread his poison, removing all opposition against him, granting him schools, abbeys, and revenues, garrisons, towns, fortresses, as in so many of those articles may be seen, he of all protestants may be called most justly the subverter of true religion, the protector and inviter of irreligion and atheism, whether it be Ormond or his master. And if it can be no way proved that the parliament hath countenanced popery or papists, but have everywhere broken their temporal power, thrown down their public superstitions, and confined them to the bare enjoyment of that which is not in our reach, their consciences; if they have encouraged all true ministers of the gospel, that is to say, afforded them favour and protection in all places where they preached, and although they think not money or stipend to be the best encouragement of a true pastor, yet therein also have not been wanting nor intend to be, they doubt not then to affirm themselves, not the subverters, but the maintainers and defenders, of true religion; which of itself and by consequence is the surest and the strongest subversion, not only of all false ones, but of irreligion and atheism. For “the weapons of that warfare,” as the apostle testifies, who best knew, “are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, and all reasonings, and every high thing exalted against the knowledge of God, surprising every thought unto the obedience of Christ, and easily revenging all disobedience,” 2 Cor. x. What minister or clergyman, that either understood his high calling, or sought not to erect a secular and carnal tyranny over spiritual things, would neg-

lect this ample and sublime power conferred upon him, and come a begging to the weak hand of magistracy for that kind of aid which the magistrate hath no commission to afford him, and in the way he seeks it hath been always found helpless and unprofitable. Neither is it unknown, or by wisest men unobserved, that the church began then most apparently, to degenerate, and go to ruin, when she borrowed of the civil power more than fair encouragement and protection more than which Christ himself and his apostles never required. To say therefore, that we protect and invite all false religions, with irreligion also and atheism, because we lend not, or rather misapply not, the temporal power to help out, though in vain, the sloth, the spleen, the insufficiency of churchmen, in the execution of spiritual discipline over those within their charge, or those without, is an imputation that may be laid as well upon the best regulated states and governments through the world; who have been so prudent as never to employ the civil sword further than the edge of it could reach, that is, to civil offences only; proving always against objects that were spiritual a ridiculous weapon. Our protection therefore to men in civil matters unoffensive we cannot deny; their consciences we leave, as not within our cognizance, to the proper cure of instruction, praying for them. Nevertheless, if any be found among us declared atheists, malicious enemies of God, and of Christ; the parliament, I think, professes not to tolerate such, but with all befitting endeavours to suppress them. Otherways to protect none that in a larger sense may be taxed of irreligion and atheism, may perhaps be the ready way to exclude none sooner out of protection, than those themselves that most accuse it to be so general to others. Lastly, that we invite such as these, or encourage them, is a mere slander without proof.

He tells us next, that they have murdered the king. And they deny not to have justly and undauntedly, as became the parliament of England, for more bloodshed and other heinous crimes than ever king of this land was guilty of, after open trial, punished him with death; a matter, which to men, whose serious consideration thereof hath left no certain precept or example unabated, is so far from giving offence, that we implore and beseech the Divine Majesty so to uphold and support their spirits with like fortitude and magnanimity, that

all their ensuing actions may correspond and prove worthy that impartial and noble piece of justice, wherein the hand of God appeared so evidently on our side. We shall not then need to fear what all the rout and faction of men basely principled can do against us.

The end of our proceedings, which he takes upon him to have discovered, “the changing forsooth of monarchy into anarchy,” sounds so like the smattering of some raw politician, and the overworn objection of every trivial talker, that we leave him in the number. But seeing in that which follows he contains not himself, but, contrary to what a gentleman should know of civility, proceeds to the contemptuous naming of a person whose valour and high merit many enemies more noble than himself have both honoured and feared; to assert his good name and reputation, of whose service the commonwealth receives so ample satisfaction, it is answered in his behalf, that Cromwell, whom he couples with a name of scorn, hath done in few years more eminent and remarkable deeds, whereon to found nobility in his house, though it were wanting, and perpetual renown to posterity, than Ormond and all his ancestors put together can shew from any record of their Irish exploits, the widest scene of their glory.

He passes on his groundless conjectures, that the aim of this parliament may be perhaps to set up first an elective kingdom, and after that a perfect Turkish tyranny. Of the former we suppose the late act against monarchy will suffice to acquit them. Of the latter certainly there needed no other pattern than that tyranny which was so long modelling by the late king himself, with Strafford, and that archprelate of Canterbury, his chief instruments, whose designs God hath dissipated. Neither is it any new project of the monarchs and their courtiers in these days, though Christians they would be thought, to endeavour the introducing of a plain Turkish tyranny. Witness that consultation had in the court of France under Charles the Ninth at Blois, wherein Poucet, a certain court-projector, brought in secretly by the chancellor Biragha, after many praises of the Ottoman government, proposes means and ways at large, in presence of the king, the queen regent, and Anjou the king’s brother, how with best expedition and least noise the Turkish tyranny might be set up in France.

It appears therefore, that the design of bringing in that tyranny, is a monarchical design, and not of those who have dissolved monarchy.

As for parliaments by three estates, we know, that a parliament signifies no more than the supreme and general council of a nation, consisting of whomsoever chosen and assembled for the public good; which was ever practised, and in all sorts of government, before the word parliament, or the formality, or the possibility of those three estates, or such a thing as a titular monarchy, had either name or being in the world. The original of all which we could produce to be far newer than those "all ages" which he vaunts of, and by such first invented and contrived, whose authority, though it were Charles Martel, stands not so high in our repute, either for himself, or the age he lived in, but that with as good warrant we may recede from what he ordained, as he ordain what before was not.

But whereas besides he is bold to allege, that of the three estates there remains only a small number, and they the "dregs and scum of the house of commons;" this reproach, and in the mouth of an Irishman, concerns not them only; but redounds to apparent dishonour of the whole English nation. Doubtless there must be thought a great scarcity in England of persons honourable and deserving, or else of judgment, or so much as honesty in the people, if those whom they esteem worthy to sit in parliament be no better than scum and dregs in the Irish dialect. But of such-like stuff we meet not anywhere with more excrescence than in his own lavish pen; which feeling itself loose without the reins of discretion, rambles for the most part beyond all soberness and civility. In which torrent he goes on negotiating and cheapening the loyalty of our faithful governor of Dublin, as if the known and tried constancy of that valiant gentleman were to be bought with court fumes.

He lays before him that "there remains now no other liberty in the subject, but to profess blasphemous opinions, to revile and tread under foot magistracy, to murder magistrates, to oppress and undo all that are not like-minded with us;" forgetting in the mean while himself to be in the head of a mixed rabble, part papists, part fugitives, and part savages, guilty in the highest degree of all these crimes. What more blasphemous, not opinion, but whole religion, than popery,

plunged into idolatrous and ceremonial superstition, the very death of all true religion; figured to us by the scripture itself in the shape of that beast, full of the names of blasphemy, which we mention to him as to one that would be counted protestant, and had his breeding in the house of a bishop? And who are those that have trod under foot magistracy, murdered magistrates, oppressed and undone all that sided not with them, but the Irish rebels, in that horrible conspiracy, for which Ormond himself hath either been, or seemed to be, their enemy, though now their ringleader? And let him ask the jesuits about him, whether it be not their known doctrine and also practice, not by fair and due process of justice to punish kings and magistrates, which we disavow not, but to murder them in the basest and most assassinous manner, if their church interest so require. There will not need more words to this windy railer, convicted openly of all those crimes, which he so confidently, and yet falsely, charges upon others.

We have now to deal, though in the same country, with another sort of adversaries, in shew far different, in substance muchwhat the same. These write themselves the presbytery of Belfast, a place better known by the name of a late barony, than by the fame of these men's doctrine or ecclesiastical deeds: whose obscurity till now never came to our hearing. And surely we should think this their representment far beneath considerable, who have neglected and passed over the like unadvisedness of their fellows in other places more near us, were it not to observe in some particulars the sympathy, good intelligence, and joint pace which they go in the north of Ireland, with their co-partning rebels in the south, driving on the same interest to lose us that kingdom, that they may gain it themselves, or at least share in the spoil: though the other be open enemies, these pretended brethren.

The introduction of their manifesto out of doubt must be zealous: "Their duty," they say, "to God and his people, over whom he hath made them overseers, and for whom they must give account." What mean these men? Is the presbytery of Belfast, a small town in Ulster, of so large extent, that their voices cannot serve to teach duties in the congregation which they oversee, without spreading and divulging to all parts, far beyond the diocess of Patrick or Columba, their

written representation, under the subtle pretence of feeding their own flock? Or do they think to oversee, or undertake to give an account for, all to whom their paper sends greeting? St. Paul to the elders of Ephesus thinks it sufficient to give charge, “ That they take heed to themselves, and to the flock over which they were made overseers;” beyond those bounds he enlarges not their commission. And surely when we put down bishops and put up presbyters, which the most of them have made use of to enrich and exalt themselves, and turn the first heel against their benefactors, we did not think, that one classic fraternity, so obscure and so remote, should involve us and all state-affairs within the censure and jurisdiction of Belfast, upon pretence of overseeing their own charge.

We very well know, that church-censures are limited to church-matters, and these within the compass of their own province, or, to say more truly, of their own congregation: that affairs of state are not for their meddling, as we could urge even from their own invectives and protestations against the bishops, wherein they tell them, with much fervency, that ministers of the gospel, neither by that function, nor any other which they ought accept, have the least warrant to be pragmatical in the state.

And surely in vain were bishops for these and other causes forbid to sit and vote in the house, if these men out of the house, and without vote, shall claim and be permitted more licence on their presbyterial stools, to breed continual disturbance by interposing in the commonwealth. But seeing that now, since their heaving out the prelates to heave in themselves, they devise new ways to bring both ends together, which will never meet; that is to say, their former doctrine with their present doings, as “ that they cannot else teach magistrates and subjects their duty, and that they have besides a right themselves to speak as members of the commonwealth;” let them know, that there is a wide difference between the general exhortation to justice and obedience, which in this point is the utmost of their duty, and the state-disputes wherein they are now grown such busybodies, to preach of titles, interests, and alterations in government; more than our Saviour himself, or any of his apostles, ever took upon them, though the title both of Cæsar and of Herod, and what they

did in matters of state, might have then admitted controversy enough.

Next, for their civil capacities, we are sure that pulpits and church-assemblies, whether classical or provincial, never were intended or allowed by wise magistrates, no, nor by him that sent them, to advance such purposes, but that as members of the commonwealth they ought to mix with other commoners, and in that temporal body to assume nothing above other private persons, or otherwise than in a usual and legal manner: not by distinct remonstrances and representments, as if they were a tribe and party by themselves, which is the next immediate way to make the church lift a horn against the state, and claim an absolute and undepending jurisdiction, as from like advantage and occasion (to the trouble of all Christendom) the pope hath for many ages done; and not only our bishops were climbing after him, but our presbyters also, as by late experiment we find. Of this representation therefore we can esteem and judge no other than of a slanderous and seditious libel, sent abroad by a sort of incendiaries, to delude and make the better way under the cunning and plausible name of a presbytery.

A second reason of their representing is, "that they consider the dependence of that kingdom upon England," which is another shameless untruth that ever they considered; as their own actions will declare, by conniving, and in their silence partaking, with those in Ulster, whose obedience, by what we have yet heard, stands dubious, and with an eye of conformity rather to the north, than to that part where they owe their subjection; and this in all likelihood by the inducement and instigation of these representers; who are so far from considering their dependence on England, as to presume at every word to term proceedings of parliament, "the insolencies of a sectarian party, and of private men." Despising dominion, and speaking evil of dignities, which hypocritically they would seem to dissuade others from; and not fearing the due correction of their superiors, that may in fit season overtake them. Wheras the least consideration of their dependence on England, would have kept them better in their duty.

The third reason which they use makes against them: the remembrance how God punished the contempt of their warning last year upon the breakers of covenant, wheras the next year

after they forget the warning of that punishment hanging over their own heads for the very same transgression, their manifest breach of covenant by this seditious representation, accompanied with the doubtful obedience of that province which represents it.

And thus we have their preface supported with three reasons; two of them notorious falsities, and the third against themselves; and two examples, “the province of London, and the commissioners of the kirk-assembly.” But certain, if canonical examples bind not, much less do apocryphal.

Proceeding to avouch the trust put upon them by God, which is plainly proved to be none of this nature, “they would not be looked upon as sowers of sedition, or authors of divisive motions; their record,” they say, “is in heaven,” and their truth and honesty no man knows where. For is not this a shameless hypocrisy, and of mere wolves in sheep’s clothing, to sow sedition in the ears of all men, and to face us down to the very act, that they are authors of no such matter? But let the sequel both of their paper, and the obedience of the place wherein they are, determine.

Nay, while we are yet writing these things, and foretelling all men the rebellion, which was even then designed in the close purpose of these unhallowed priestlings, at the very time when with their lips they disclaimed all sowing of sedition, news is brought, and too true, that the Scottish inhabitants of that province are actually revolted, and have not only besieged in Londonderry those forces which were to have fought against Ormond and the Irish rebels, but have in a manner declared with them, and begun open war against the parliament; and all this by the incitement and illusions of that unchristian synagogue at Belfast, who yet dare charge the parliament, “that, notwithstanding specious pretences, yet their actings do evidence, that they love a rough garment to deceive.” The deceit we own not, but the comparison, by what at first sight may seem alluded, we accept: for that hairy roughness assumed won Jacob the birthright, both temporal and eternal; and God we trust hath so disposed the mouth of these Balaams, that, coming to curse, they have stumbled into a kind of blessing, and compared our actings to the faithful act of that patriarch.

But if they mean, as more probably their meaning was,

that “rough garment” spoken of Zech. xiii. 4, we may then behold the pitiful store of learning and theology which these deceivers have thought sufficient to uphold their credit with the people, who, though the rancour that leavens them have somewhat quickened the common drawingl of their pulpit elocution, yet, for want of stock enough in scripture-phrase to serve the necessary uses of their malice, they are become so liberal, as to part freely with their own budge-gowns from off their backs, and bestow them on the magistrate as a rough garment to deceive; rather than not be furnished with a reproach, though never so improper, never so odious, to be turned upon themselves. For but with half an eye cast upon that text, any man will soon discern that rough garment to be their own coat, their own livery, the very badge and cognizance of such false prophets as themselves, who, when they understand, or ever seriously mind, the beginning of that 4th verse, may “be ashamed every one of his lying vision,” and may justly fear that foregoing denouncement to such “as speak lies in the name of the Lord,” verse 3, lurking under the rough garment of outward rigour and formality, whereby they cheat the simple. So that “this rough garment to deceive” we bring ye once again, grave sirs, into your own vestry; or with Zachary shall not think much to fit it to your own shoulders. To bestow aught in good earnest on the magistrate, we know your classic priesthood is too grapple, for ye are always begging; and for this rough gown to deceive, we are confident ye cannot spare it; it is your Sunday’s gown, your every day gown, your only gown, the gown of your faculty; your divining gown; to take it from ye were sacrilege. Wear it therefore, and possess it yourselves, most grave and reverend Carmelites, that all men, both young and old, as we hope they will shortly, may yet better know ye, and distinguish ye by it; and give to your rough gown, wherever they meet it, whether in pulpit, classis, or provincial synod, the precedence and the pre-eminence of deceiving.

They charge us next, that we have broken the covenant, and loaden it with slighting reproaches. For the reproaching, let them answer that are guilty, whereof the state we are sure cannot be accused. For the breaking, let us hear wherein. “In labouring,” say they, “to establish by law a universal toleration of all religions.” This touches not the state; for

certainly were they so minded, they need not labour it, but do it, having power in their hands; and we know of no act as yet passed to that purpose. But suppose it done, wherein is the covenant broke? The covenant enjoins us to endeavour the extirpation first of popery and prelacy, then of heresy, schism, and profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness. And this we cease not to do by all effectual and proper means: but these divines might know, that to extirpate all these things can be no work of the civil sword, but of the spiritual, which is the word of God.

No man well in his wits, endeavouring to root up weeds out of his ground, instead of using the spade will take a mallet or a beetle. Nor doth the covenant any way engage us to extirpate, or to prosecute the men, but the heresies and errors in them, which we tell these divines, and the rest that understand not, belongs chiefly to their own function, in the diligent preaching and insisting upon sound doctrine, in the confuting, not the railing down, errors, encountering both in public and private conference, and by the power of truth, not of persecution, subduing those authors of heretical opinions, and lastly in the spiritual execution of church-discipline within their own congregations. In all these ways we shall assist them, favour them, and as far as appertains to us join with them, and moreover not tolerate the free exercise of any religion, which shall be found absolutely contrary to sound doctrine or the power of godliness; for the conscience, we must have patience till it be within our verge. And thus doing, we shall believe to have kept exactly all that is required from us by the covenant. Whilst they by their seditious practices against us, than which nothing for the present can add more assistance or advantage to those bloody rebels and papists in the south, will be found most pernicious covenant-breakers themselves, and as deep in that guilt, as those of their own nation the last year; the warning of whose ill success, like men hardened for the same judgment, they miserably pervert to an encouragement in the same offence, if not a far worse: for now they have joined interest with the Irish rebels, who have ever fought against the covenant, whereas their countrymen the year before made the covenant their plea. But as it is a peculiar mercy of God to his people, while they remain his, to preserve them from

wicked confederations; so it is a mark and punishment of hypocrites, to be driven at length to mix their cause, and the interest of their covenant, with God's enemies.

And whereas they affirm, that the tolerating of all religions, in the manner that we tolerate them, is an innovation; we must acquaint them, that we are able to make it good, if need be, both by scripture and the primitive fathers, and the frequent assertion of whole churches and protestant states in their remonstrances and expostulations against the popish tyranny over souls. And what force of argument do these doctors bring to the contrary? But we have long observed to what pass the bold ignorance and sloth of our clergy tends no less now than in the bishops' days, to make their bare sayings and censures authentic with the people, though destitute of any proof or argument. But, thanks be to God, they are discerned.

Their next impeachment is, "that we oppose the presbyterian government, the hedge and bulwark of religion;" which all the land knows to be a most impudent falsehood, having established it with all freedom, wherever it hath been desired. Nevertheless, as we perceive it aspiring to be a compulsive power upon all without exception in parochial, classical, and provincial hierarchies, or to require the fleshly arm of magistracy in the execution of a spiritual discipline, to punish and amerce by any corporal infliction those whose consciences cannot be edified by what authority they are compelled, we hold it no more to be "the hedge and bulwark of religion," than the popish or prelatical courts, or the Spanish Inquisition.

But we are told, "we embrace paganism and judaism in the arms of toleration," a most audacious calumny! And yet, while we detest Judaism, we know ourselves commanded by St. Paul, Rom. xi., to respect the Jews, and by all means to endeavour their conversion.

Neither was it ever sworn in the covenant, to maintain an universal presbytery in England, as they falsely allege, but in Scotland against the common enemy, if our aid were called for; being left free to reform our own country according to the word of God, and the example of best reformed churches; from which rule we are not yet departed.

But here, utterly forgetting to be ministers of the gospel, they resume to open their mouths, not "in the spirit of

meekness," as like dissesemblers they pretend, but with as much devilish malice, impudence, and falsehood, as any Irish rebel could have uttered, and from a barbarous nook of Ireland brand us with the extirpation of laws and liberties; things which they seem as little to understand, as aught that belong to good letters or humanity.

" That we seized on the person of the king;" who was surrendered into our hands an enemy and captive by our own subordinate and paid army of Scots in England. Next, "our imprisoning many members of the house." As if it were impossible they should deserve it, conspiring and bandying against the public good; which to the other part appearing, and with the power they had, not resisting had been a manifest desertion of their trust and duty. No question but it is as good and necessary to expel rotten members out of the house, as to banish delinquents out of the land: and the reason holds as well in forty as in five. And if they be yet more, the more dangerous is their number. They had no privilege to sit there, and vote home the author, the impenitent author, of all our miseries, to freedom, honour, and royalty, for a few fraudulent, if not destructive, concessions. Which that they went about to do, how much more clear it was to all men, so much the more expedient and important to the commonwealth was their speedy seizure and exclusion; and no breach of any just privilege, but a breach of their knotted faction. And here they cry out, " an action without parallel in any age." So heartily we wish all men were unprejudiced in all our actions, as these illiterate denouncers never paralleled so much of any age as would contribute to the tithe of a century. " That we abolish parliamentary power, and establish a representative instead thereof." Now we have the height of them; these profound instructors, in the midst of their representation, would know the English of a representative, and were perhaps of that classis, who heretofore were as much staggered at triennial.

Their grand accusation is our justice done on the king, which that they may prove to be "without rule or example," they venture all the credit they have in divine and human history; and by the same desperate boldness detect themselves to be egregious liars and impostors, seeking to abuse the multitude with a shew of that gravity and learning,

which never was their portion. Had their knowledge been equal to the knowledge of any stupid monk or abbot, they would have known at least, though ignorant of all things else, the life and acts of him, who first instituted their order: but these blockish presbyters of Clandeboy know not that John Knox, who was the first founder of presbytery in Scotland, taught professedly the doctrine of deposing and of killing kings. And thus while they deny that any such rule can be found, the rule is found in their own country, given them by their own first presbyterian institutor; and they themselves, like irregular friars walking contrary to the rule of their own foundation, deserve for so gross an ignorance and transgression to be disciplined upon their own stools. Or had their reading in history been any, which by this we may be confident is none at all, or their malice not heightened to a blind rage, they never would so rashly have thrown the dice to a palpable discovery of their ignorance and want of shame. But wherefore spend we two such precious things as time and reason upon priests, the most prodigal misspenders of time, and the scarcest owners of reasons? It is sufficient we have published our Defences, given reasons, given examples of our justice done; books also have been written to the same purpose for men to look on that will; that no nation under heaven but in one age or other hath done the like. The difference only is, which rather seems to us matter of glory, that they for the most part have without form of law done the deed by a kind of martial justice, we by the deliberate and well-weighed sentence of a legal judicature.

But they tell us, “ it was against the interest and protestation of the kingdom of Scotland;” and did exceeding well to join those two together: hereby informing us what credit or regard need be given in England to a Scots protestation, ushered in by a Scots interest: certainly no more than we see is given in Scotland to an English declaration, declaring the interest of England. If then our interest move not them, why should theirs move us? If they say, we are not all England; we reply, they are not all Scotland: nay, were the last year so inconsiderable a part of Scotland, as were beholden to this which they now term the sectarian army, to defend and rescue them at the charges of England, from a stronger party of their own countrymen, in whose esteem

they were no better than sectarians themselves. But they add, “ It was against the former declarations of both kingdoms,” to seize, or proceed against the king. We are certain that no such declarations of both kingdoms, as derive not their full force from the sense and meaning of the covenant, can be produced.

And if they plead against the covenant, “ to preserve and defend his person;” we ask them briefly, whether they take the covenant to be absolute or conditional? If absolute, then suppose the king to have committed all prodigious crimes and impieties against God, or nature, or whole nations, he must nevertheless be sacred from all violent touch. Which absurd opinion, how it can live in any man’s reason, either natural or rectified, we much marvel: since God declared his anger as impetuous for the saving of king Benhadad, though surrendering himself at mercy, as for the killing of Naboth. If it be conditional, in the preservation and defence of religion, and the people’s liberty, then certainly to take away his life, being dangerous, and pernicious to both these, was no more a breach of the covenant, than for the same reason at Edinburgh to behead Gordon, the marquis of Huntley. By the same covenant we made vow to assist and defend all those that should enter with us into this league; not absolutely, but in the maintenance and pursuing thereof. If, therefore, no man else was ever so mad as to claim from hence an impunity from all justice, why should any for the king, whose life, by other articles of the same covenant, was forfeit? Nay, if common sense had not led us to such a clear interpretation, the Scots commissioners themselves might boast to have been our first teachers: who, when they drew to the malignance which brought forth that perfidious last year’s irruption against all the bands of covenant or Christian neighbourhood, making their hollow plea the defence of his majesty’s person, they were constrained by their own guiltiness to leave out that following morsel that would have choked them, “ the preservation and defence of true religion and our liberties.” And questionless in the preservation of these we are bound, as well, both by the covenant, and before the covenant, to preserve and defend the person of any private man, as the person and authority of any inferior magistrate: so that this article, objected with such vehemence against us, contains not an ex-

ception of the king's person and authority, to do by privilege what wickedness he list, and be defended as some fancy, but an express testification of our loyalty ; and the plain words without wresting will bear as much, that we had no thoughts against his person, or just power, provided they might consist with the preservation and defence of true religion and our liberties. But to these how hazardous his life was, will be needless to repeat so often. It may suffice, that, while he was in custody, where we expected his repentance, his remorse at last, and compassion of all the innocent blood shed already, and hereafter likely to be shed, for his mere wilfulness, he made no other use of our continual forbearance, our humblest petitions and obtestations at his feet, but to sit contriving and fomenting new plots against us, and, as his own phrase was, " playing his own game " upon the miseries of his people : of which we desire no other view at present than these articles of peace with the rebels, and the rare game likely to ensue from such a cast of his cards. And then let men reflect a little upon the slanders and reviles of these wretched priests, and judge what modesty, what truth, what conscience, what anything fit for ministers, or we might say, reasonable men, can harbour in them. For what they began in shamelessness and malice, they conclude in frenzy : throwing out a sudden rhapsody of proverbs quite from the purpose ; and with as much comeliness as when Saul prophesied. For casting off, as he did his garments, all modesty and meekness, wherewith the language of ministers ought to be clothed, especially to their supreme magistrate, they talk at random of " servants raging, servants riding, and wonder how the earth can bear them." Either these men imagine themselves to be marvelously high set and exalted in the chair of Belfast, to vouchsafe the parliament of England no better style than servants ; or else their high notion, which we rather believe, falls as low as court-parasitism, supposing all men to be servants but the king. And then all their pains taken to seem so wise in proverbing serve but to conclude them downright slaves : and the edge of their own proverb falls reverse upon themselves. For as " delight is not seemly for fools," much less high words to come from base minds. What they are for ministers, or how they crept into the fold, whether at the window, or through the wall, or who set them there so haughty in the

pontifical see of Belfast, we know not. But this we rather have cause to wonder, if the earth can bear this insufferable insolency of upstarts, who, from a ground which is not their own, dare send such defiance to the sovereign magistracy of England, by whose authority and in whose right they inhabit there. By their actions we might rather judge them to be a generation of highland thieves and redshanks, who being neighbourly admitted, not as the Saxons, by merit of their warfare against our enemies, but by the courtesy of England, to hold possessions in our province, a country better than their own, have, with worse faith than those heathen, proved ingrateful and treacherous guests to their best friends and entertainers. And let them take heed, lest while their silence as to these matters might have kept them blameless and secure under those proceedings which they so feared to partake in, that these their treasonous attempts and practices have not involved them in a far worse guilt of rebellion; and (notwithstanding that fair dehortatory from joining with malignants) in the appearance of a co-interest and partaking with the Irish rebels: against whom, though by themselves pronounced to be the enemies of God, they go not out to battle, as they ought, but rather by these their doings assist and become associates!

LETTERS OF STATE, &c.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

UPON these compositions it is unnecessary to remark separately. They may, however, be regarded as a sufficient answer to those, who, like Dr. Johnson, supposed Milton to have possessed no talents or aptitude for public business. Toland places them in their true light, when he observed that they were palpable documents for those engaged in writing or studying the history of the period; and for this reason they will always deserve to be included in collections of the works of Milton.

LETTERS OF STATE

TO MOST OF
THE SOVEREIGN PRINCES AND REPUBLICS OF EUROPE

DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORS
OLIVER AND RICHARD CROMWELL.

LETTERS WRITTEN IN THE NAME OF THE PARLIAMENT.

*The Senate and People of ENGLAND, to the most noble
Senate of the City of HAMBOROUGH.*

FOR how long a series of past years, and for what important reasons, the friendship entered into by our ancestors with your most noble city has continued to this day, we both willingly acknowledge, together with yourselves; nor is it a thing displeasing to us, frequently also to call to our remembrance. But as to what we understand by your letters dated the twenty-fifth of June, that some of our people deal not with that fidelity and probity, as they were wont to do in their trading and commerce among ye, we presently referred it to the consideration of certain persons well-skilled in those matters, to the end they might make a more strict inquiry into the frauds of the clothiers, and other artificers of the woollen manufacture. And we further promise, to take such effectual care, as to make you sensible of our unalterable intentions to preserve sincerity and justice amongst ourselves, as also never to neglect any good offices of our kindness, that may redound to the welfare of your commonwealth. On the other hand, there is something likewise which we not only required, but which equity itself, and all the laws of God and

man, demand of yourselves; that you will not only conserve inviolable to the merchants of our nation their privileges, but by your authority and power defend and protect their lives and estates, as it becomes your city to do. Which as we most earnestly desired in our former letters; so upon the repeated complaints of our merchants, that are daily made before us, we now more earnestly solicit and request it: they complaining, that their safety, and all that they have in the world, is again in great jeopardy among ye. For although they acknowledge themselves to have reaped some benefit for a short time of our former letters sent you, and to have had some respite from the injuries of a sort of profligate people; yet since the coming of the same Coc—m to your city, (of whom we complained before,) who pretends to be honoured with a sort of embassy from ——, the son of the lately deceased king, they have been assaulted with all manner of ill language, threats, and naked swords of ruffians and homicides, and have wanted your accustomed protection and defence; insomuch that when two or three of the merchants, together with the president of the society, were hurried away by surprise aboard a certain privateer, and that the rest implored your aid, yet they could not obtain any assistance from you, till the merchants themselves were forced to embody their own strength, and rescue from the hands of pirates the persons seized on in that river of which your city is the mistress, not without extreme hazard of their lives. Nay, when they had fortunately brought them home again, and as it were by force of arms recovered them from an ignominious captivity, and carried the pirates themselves into custody, we are informed, that Coc—m was so audacious as to demand the release of the pirates, and that the merchants might be delivered prisoners into his hands. We therefore again, and again, beseech and adjure you, if it be your intention that contracts and leagues and the very ancient commerce between both nations should be preserved, (the thing which you desire,) that our people may be able to assure themselves of some certain and firm support and reliance upon your word, your prudence, and authority; that you would lend them a favourable audience concerning these matters, and that you would inflict deserved punishment as well upon Coc—m, and the rest of his accomplices.

in that wicked act, as upon those who lately assaulted the preacher, hitherto unpunished, or command them to depart your territories ; nor that you would believe, that expelled and exiled Tarquins are to be preferred before the friendship, and the wealth, and power of our republic. For if you do not carefully provide to the contrary, but that the enemies of our republic shall presume to think lawful the committing of any violences against us in your city, how unsafe, how ignominious the residence of our people there will be, do you consider with yourselves ! These things we recommend to your prudence and equity, yourselves to the protection of heaven.

Westminster Aug. 10, 1649.

To the Senate of HAMBOROUGH.

YOUR conspicuous favour in the doubtful condition of our affairs is now the reason, that after victory and prosperous success, we can no longer question your good-will and friendly inclination towards us. As for our parts, the war being almost now determined, and our enemies everywhere vanquished, we have deemed nothing more just, or more conducing to the firm establishment of the republic, than that they who by our means (the Almighty being always our captain and conductor) have either recovered their liberty, or obtained their lives and fortunes, after the pernicious ravages of a civil war, of our free gift and grace, should testify and pay in exchange to their magistrates allegiance and duty in a solemn manner, if need required : more especially when so many turbulent and exasperated persons, more than once received into protection, will make no end, either at home or abroad, of acting perfidiously, and raising new disturbances. To that purpose we took care to enjoin a certain form of an oath, by which all who held any office in the commonwealth, or, being fortified with the protection of the law, enjoyed both safety, ease, and all other conveniences of life, should bind themselves to obedience in words prescribed. This we also thought proper to be sent to all colonies abroad, or wherever else our people resided for the convenience of trade ; to the end that the fidelity of those over whom we are set, might be proved and known to us,

as it is but reasonable and necessary. Which makes us wonder so much the more at what our merchants write from your city, that they are not permitted to execute our commands by some or other of your order and decree. Certainly what the most potent United Provinces of the Low Countries, most jealous of their power and their interests, never thought any way belonging to their inspection, namely, whether the English foreigners swore fidelity and allegiance to their magistrates at home, either in these or those words, how that should come to be so suspected and troublesome to your city, we must plainly acknowledge that we do not understand. But this proceeding from the private inclinations or fears of some, whom certain vagabond Scots, expelled their country, are said to have enforced by menaces, on purpose to deter our merchants from swearing fidelity to us, we impute not to your city. Most earnestly therefore we entreat and conjure ye (for it is not now the interest of trade, but the honour of the republic itself that lies at stake) not to suffer any one among ye, who can have no reason to concern himself in this affair, to interpose his authority, whatever it be, with that supremacy which we challenge over our own subjects, not by the judgment and opinion of foreigners, but by the laws of our country; for who would not take it amiss, if we should forbid your Hamburghers, residing here, to swear fidelity to you, that are their magistrates at home? Farewell.

Jan. 4, 1649.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, PHILIP the Fourth, King of SPAIN: the Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, Greeting.

WE send to your majesty Anthony Ascham, a person of integrity, learned, and descended of an ancient family, to treat of matters very advantageous, as we hope, as well to the Spanish, as to the English nation. Wherefore in friendly manner we desire, that you would be pleased to grant, and order him a safe and honourable passage to your royal city, and the same in his return from thence, readily prepared to repay the kindness when occasion offers. Or if your majesty be otherwise inclined, that it may be signified to him with

the soonest, what your pleasure is in this particular, and that he may be at liberty to depart without molestation.

Feb. 4, 1649.

*To the most Serene and Potent Prince, PHILIP the Fourth,
King of SPAIN: the Parliament of the Commonwealth of
ENGLAND, Greeting.*

WHAT is the condition of our affairs, and by what heinous injuries provoked and broken, at length we began to think of recovering our liberty by force of arms; what constituted form of government we now make use of, can neither be concealed from your majesty, nor any other person, who has but cast an impartial eye upon our writings published on these occasions. Neither ought we to think it a difficult thing, among fit and proper judges of things, to render our fidelity, our equity, and patience, manifest to all men, and justly meriting their approbation; as also to defend our authority, honour, and grandeur, against the infamous tongues of exiles and fugitives. Now then, as to what is more the concern of foreign nations, after having subdued and vanquished the enemies of our country, through the miraculous assistance of heaven, we openly and cordially profess ourselves readily prepared to have peace and friendship, more desirable than all enlargement of empire, with our neighbour nations. For these reasons we have sent into Spain, to your majesty, Anthony Ascham, of approved dexterity and probity, to treat with your majesty concerning friendship, and the accustomed commerce between both nations; or else, if it be your pleasure, to open a way for the ratifying of new articles and alliances. Our request therefore is, that you will grant him free liberty of access to your majesty, and give such order, that care may be taken of his safety and honour, while he resides a public minister with your majesty; to the end he may freely propose what he has in charge from us, for the benefit, as we hope, of both nations; and certify to us with the soonest, what are your majesty's sentiments concerning these matters.

Westminster, Feb. 4, 1649.

*To the most Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of
PORTUGAL; the Parliament of the Commonwealth of
ENGLAND, Greeting.*

AFTER we had suffered many, and those the utmost, mischiefs of a faithless peace, and intestine war, our being reduced to those exigencies, that if we had any regard to the safety of the republic, there was a necessity of altering for the chiefest part the form of government, is a thing which, we make no question, is well known to your majesty, by what we have both publicly written and declared in justification of our proceedings. To which, as it is but reason, if credit might be rather given than to the most malicious calumnies of loose and wicked men; perhaps we should find those persons more amicably inclined, who now abroad have the worst sentiments of our actions. For as to what we justify ourselves to have justly and strenuously performed after the example of our ancestors, in pursuance of our rights, and for recovery of the native liberty of Englishmen, certainly it is not the work of human force or wit to eradicate the perverse and obstinate opinions of people wickedly inclined concerning what we have done. But after all, in reference to what is common to us with all foreign nations, and more for the general interest on both sides, we are willing to let the world know that there is nothing which we more ardently desire than that the friendship and commerce which our people have been accustomed to maintain with all our neighbours, should be enlarged and settled in the most ample and solemn manner. And whereas our people have always driven a very great trade, and gainful to both nations, in your kingdom, we shall take care, as much as in us lies, that they may not meet with any impediment to interrupt their dealings. However, we foresee that all our industry will be in vain, if, as it is reported, the pirates and revolters of our nation shall be suffered to have refuge in your ports, and after they have taken and plundered the laden vessels of the English, shall be permitted to sell their goods by public outcry at Lisbon. To the end therefore that a more speedy remedy may be applied to this growing mischief, and that we may be more clearly satisfied concerning the peace which we desire, we have sent to your majesty the most noble Charles Vane, under the character

of our agent, with instructions and a commission, a plenary testimonial of the trust we have reposed and the employment we have conferred upon him. Him therefore we most earnestly desire your majesty graciously to hear, to give him credit, and to take such order, that he may be safe in his person and his honour, within the bounds of your dominions. These things, as they will be most acceptable to us, so we promise, whenever occasion offers, that the same offices of kindness to your majesty shall be mutually observed on all our parts.

Westminster, Feb. 4, 1649.

To the most Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of PORTUGAL: the Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, Greeting.

ALMOST daily and most grievous complaints are brought before us, that certain of our seamen and officers, who revolted from us the last year, and treacherously and wickedly carried away the ships with the command of which they were entrusted, and who, having made their escape from the port of Ireland, where, being blocked up for almost a whole summer together, they very narrowly avoided the punishment due to their crimes, have now betaken themselves to the coast of Portugal, and the mouth of the river Tagus: that there they practise furious piracy, taking and plundering all the English vessels they meet with sailing to and fro upon the account of trade; and that all the adjoining seas are become almost impassable, by reason of their notorious and infamous robberies. To which increasing mischief unless a speedy remedy be supplied, who does not see but that there will be a final end of that vast trade so gainful to both nations, which our people were wont to drive with the Portuguese? Wherefore we again and again request your majesty, that you would command those pirates and revolters to depart the territories of Portugal: and that if any pretended ambassadors present themselves from ******, that you will not vouchsafe to give them audience; but that you will rather acknowledge us, upon whom the supreme power of England, by the conspicuous favour and assistance of the Almighty, is devolved, and that the ports and rivers of Portugal may not be barred and defended against your friends' and confederates' fleet, no less serviceable to your emolument than the trade of the English.

*To the most Serene Prince LEOPOLD, Archduke of AUSTRIA,
Governor of the SPANISH Low Countries, under King PHILIP.*

So soon as word was brought us, not without a most grievous complaint, that Jane Puckering, an heiress of an illustrious and opulent family, while yet by reason of her age she was under guardians, not far from the house wherein she then lived at Greenwich, was violently forced from the hands and embraces of her attendants ; and of a sudden, in a vessel to that purpose ready prepared, carried off into Flanders by the treachery of one Walsh, who has endeavoured all the ways imaginable, in contempt of law both human and divine, to constrain a wealthy virgin to marriage, even by terrifying her with menaces of present death : We deeming it proper to apply some speedy remedy to so enormous and unheard-of piece of villany, gave orders to some persons to treat with the governors of Newport and Ostend (for the unfortunate captive was said to be landed in one of those two places) **about** rescuing the freeborn lady out of the hands of the ravisher ; who, both out of their singular humanity and love of virtue, lent their assisting aid to the young virgin in servitude, and by downright robbery rifled from her habitation : so that to avoid the violence of her imperious masters, she was as it were deposited in a nunnery, and committed to the charge of the governess of the society. Wherefore the same Walsh, to get her again into his clutches, has commenced a suit against her in the ecclesiastical court of the bishop of Ypre, pretending a matrimonial contract between him and her. Now in regard that both the ravisher and the ravished person are natives of our country, as by the witnesses upon their oaths abundantly appears ; as also for that the splendid inheritance, after which most certainly the criminal chiefly gapes, lies within our territories, so that we conceive, that the whole cognizance and determination of this cause belongs solely to ourselves ; therefore let him repair hither, he who calls himself the husband ; here let him commence his suit, and demand the delivery of the person whom he claims for his wife. In the mean time, this it is that we most earnestly request from your highness, which is no more than what we have already requested by our agent residing at Brussels, that you will permit an afflicted and many ways misused virgin, born of honest parents, but

pirated out of her native country, to return, as far as lies in your power, with freedom and safety home again. This not only we, upon all opportunities offered, as readily prepared to return the same favour and kindness to your highness, but also humanity itself, and that same hatred of infamy, which ought to accompany all persons of virtue and courage in defending the honour of the female sex, seem altogether jointly to require at your hands.

Westminster, March 28, 1650.

*To the most Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of
PORTUGAL.*

UNDERSTANDING that your majesty had both honourably received our agent, and immediately given him a favourable audience, we thought it became us to assure your majesty without delay, by speedy letters from us, that nothing could happen more acceptable to us; and that there is nothing which we have decreed more sacred, than not to violate by any word or deed of ours, not first provoked, the peace, the friendship, and commerce now for some time settled between us and the greatest number of other foreign nations, and among the rest with the Portuguese. Nor did we send the English fleet to the mouth of the river Tagus with any other intentior or design than in pursuit of enemies so often put to flight, and for recovery of our vessels; which being carried away from their owners by force and treachery, the same rabble of fugitives conducted to your coasts, and even to Lisbon itself, as to the most certain fairs for the sale of their plunder. But we are apt to believe, that by this time almost all the Portuguese are abundantly convinced, from the flagitious manners of those people, of their audaciousness, their fury, and their madness. Which is the reason we are in hopes that we shall more easily obtain from your majesty, first, that you will, as far as in you lies, be assistant to the most illustrious Edward Popham, whom we have made admiral of our new fleet, for the subduing those detested freebooters; and that you will no longer suffer them, together with their captain, not guests, but pirates, not merchants, but the pests of commerce, and violaters of the law of nations, to harbour in the ports and under the shelter of the fortresses of your kingdom; but that wherever the confines of Portugal extend

themselves, you will command them to be expelled as well by land as by sea. Or if you are unwilling to proceed to that extremity, at least that with your leave it may be lawful for us, with our proper forces, to assail our own revolters and sea-robbers, and, if it be the pleasure of Heaven, to reduce them into our power. This, as we have earnestly desired in our former letters, so now again with the greatest ardency and importunity we request of your majesty. By this, whether equity or act of kindness, you will not only enlarge the fame of your justice over all well-governed and civil nations, but also in a greater measure bind both us and the people of England, who never yet had other than a good opinion of the Portuguese, to yourself and to your subjects. Farewell.

Westminster, April 27, 1650.

To the HAMBURGHERS.

MORE than once we have written concerning the controversies of the merchants, and some other things which more nearly concern the dignity of our republic, yet no answer has been returned. But understanding that affairs of that nature can hardly be determined by letters only, and that in the mean time certain seditious persons have been sent to your city by ******, authorized with no other commission than that of malice and audaciousness, who make it their business utterly to extirpate the ancient trade of our people in your city, especially of those whose fidelity to their country is most conspicuous; therefore we have commanded the worthy and most eminent Richard Bradshaw to reside as our agent among ye; to the end he may be able more at large to treat and negotiate with your lordships such matters and affairs as are interwoven with the benefit and advantages of both republics. Him therefore we request ye with the soonest to admit to a favourable audience; and that in all things that credit may be given to him, that honour paid him, as is usual in all countries and among all nations paid to those that bear his character.

Westminster, April 2, 1650.

To the HAMBURGHERS.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious, our dearest Friends;

THAT your sedulities in the reception of our agent were so cordial and so egregious, we both gladly understand, and

VOL. II.

mand from the parliament to return this answer to the first head of those writings, touching the villainous assassinations of their late agent, Anthony Ascham.

The parliament have so long time, so often, and so justly demanded their being brought to deserved punishment, that there needs nothing further to be said on a thing of so great importance, wherein (as your excellency well observed) his royal majesty's authority itself is so deeply concerned, that, unless justice be done upon such notorious offenders, all the foundations of human society, all the ways of preserving friendship among nations, of necessity must be overturned and abolished. Nor can we apprehend by any argument drawn from religion, that the blood of the innocent, shed by a propensely malicious murder, is not to be avenged. The parliament therefore once more most urgently presses, and expects from his royal majesty, according to their first demands, that satisfaction be given them effectually and sincerely in this matter.

To the most Excellent Lord Anthony John Lewis de la CERDA, Duke of MEDINA CELI, Governor of ANDALUSIA : the Council of State constituted by Authority of Parliament, Greeting.

WE have received advice from those most accomplished persons, whom we lately sent with our fleet into Portugal, in pursuit of traitors, and for the recovery of our vessels, that they were most civilly received by your excellency, as often as they happened to touch upon the coasts of Gallæcia, which is under your government, and assisted with all things necessary to those that perform long voyages. This civility of yours, as it was always most acceptable to us, so it is now more especially at this time, while we are sensible of the illwill of others in some places towards us without any just cause given on our side. therefore we make it our request to your illustrious lordship, that you will persevere in the same good-will and affection to us, and that you would continue your favour and assistance to our people, according to your wonted civility, as often as our ships put into your harbours: and be assured, that there is nothing which we desire of your lordship in the way

of kindness, which we shall not be ready to repay both to you and yours, whenever the like occasion shall be offered us.

Sealed with the seal of the council,

J. BRADSHAW, President.

Westminster Nov. 7, 1650.

To the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of DANTZICK.

Magnificent and most Noble Lords,
our dearest Friends;

MANY letters are brought us from our merchants trading upon the coast of Borussia, wherein they complain of a grievous tribute imposed upon them in the grand council of the Polanders, enforcing them to pay the tenth part of all their goods for the relief of the king of Scots, our enemy. Which in regard it is plainly contrary to the law of nations, that guests and strangers should be dealt withal in such a manner; and most unjust, that they should be compelled to pay public stipends in a foreign commonwealth to him from whom they are, by God's assistance, delivered at home; we make no question but that out of respect to that liberty which, as we understand, you yourselves enjoy, you will not suffer so heavy a burden to be laid on merchants in your city, wherein they have maintained a continual amity and commerce, to the extraordinary advantage of the place for many years together. If therefore you think it convenient to undertake the protection of our merchants trading among ye, which we assuredly expect, as well from your prudence and equity, as from the dignity and grandeur of your city; we shall take that care, that you shall be sensible from time to time of our grateful acceptance of your kindness, as often as the Dantzickers shall have any dealings within our territories, or their ships, as frequently it happens, put into our ports.

Westminster, Feb. 6, 1650.

To the PORTUGAL Agent.

Most Illustrious Lord,

We received your letters dated from Hampton the fifteenth of this month, wherein you signify, that you are sent by the king of Portugal to the parliament of the commonwealth of England; but say not under what character, whether of

ambassador, or agent, or envoy, which we would willingly understand by your credential letters from the king, a copy of which you may send us with all the speed you can. We would also further know whether you come with a plenary commission to give us satisfaction for the injuries, and to make reparation for the damages, which your king has done this republic, protecting our enemy all the last summer in his harbours, and prohibiting the English fleet, then ready to assail rebels and fugitives, which our admiral had pursued so far; but never restraining the enemy from falling upon ours. If you return us word that you have ample and full commission to give us satisfaction concerning all these matters, and send us withal a copy of your recommendatory letters, we shall then take care that you may with all speed repair to us upon the public faith: at which time, when we have read the king's letters, you shall have liberty freely to declare what further commands you have brought along with you.

*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the
most Serene Prince, D. FERDINAND, Grand Duke of
TUSCANY, &c.*

WE have received your highness's letters, dated April twenty-two, sixteen hundred and fifty-one, and delivered to us by your resident, Signor Almeric Salvetti, wherein we readily perceive how greatly your highness favours the English name, and the value you have for this nation; which not only our merchants, that for many years have traded in your ports, but also certain of our young nobility, either travelling through your cities, or residing there for the improvement of their studies, both testify and confirm. Which as they are things most grateful and acceptable to us, we also on our parts make this request to your highness, that your serenity will persevere in your accustomed goodwill and affection towards our merchants, and other citizens of our republic, travelling through the Tuscan territories. On the other side, we promise and undertake, as to what concerns the parliament, that nothing shall be wanting which may any way conduce to the confirmation and establishment of that commerce and mutual friendship that now has been of long continuance between both nations, and which it is our

earnest wish and desire should be preserved to perpetuity, by all offices of humanity, civility, and mutual observance.

Sealed with the seal of the parliament, and subscribed by
WILLIAM LENTHALL, Speaker of the parliament of the
commonwealth of England.

Westminster, Jan. 20, 1651.

*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the
Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of HAM-
BOROUGH.*

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious,
our dearest Friends ;

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England, out of their earnest desire to continue and preserve the ancient friendship and mutual commerce between the English nation and your city, not long since sent thither Richard Bradshaw, esq., with the character of our resident; and, among other instructions tending to the same purpose, gave him an express charge to demand justice against certain persons within your jurisdiction, who endeavoured to murder the preacher belonging to the English society, and who likewise laid impious hands upon the deputy president, and some of the principal merchants of the same company, and hurried them away aboard a privateer. And although the aforesaid resident, upon his first reception and audience, made known to your lordships in a particular manner the commands which he received from us, upon which it was expected, that you would have made those criminals ere this a severe example of your justice; yet when we understood our expectations were not answered, considering with ourselves what danger both our people and their estates were in, if sufficient provision were not made for their security and protection against the malice of their enemies, we again sent orders to our aforesaid resident, to represent to your lordships our judgment upon the whole matter; as also to exhort and persuade ye, in the name of this republic, to be careful of preserving the friendship and alliance contracted between this commonwealth and your city, as also the traffic and commerce no less advantageous for the interest of both: and to that end, that you would not fail to protect our merchants, together with their privileges, from all violation, and more particularly

against the insolencies of one Garmes, who has carried himself contumeliously toward this republic, and publicly cited to the Chamber of Spire certain merchants of the English company residing in your city, to the great contempt of this commonwealth, and trouble of our merchants ; for which we expect such reparation as shall be consentaneous to equity and justice.

To treat of these heads, and whatever else more largely belongs to the common friendship of both republics, we have ordered our resident aforesaid to attend your lordships, requesting that ample credit may be given to him in such matters as he shall propose relating to these affairs.

Sealed with the parliament seal and subscribed, Speaker,
&c.

Westminster, March 12, 1651.

*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the
most Serene CHRISTIANA, Queen of the SWEDES, GOTHS
and VANDALS, &c., Greeting.*

Most Serene Queen ;

WE have received and read your majesty's letters to the parliament of England, dated from Stockholm, the twenty-sixth of September last, and delivered by Peter Spering Silvercroon ; and there is nothing which we more vehemently and cordially desire, than that the ancient peace, traffic, and commerce of long continuance between the English and Swedes may prove diurnal, and every day increase. Nor did we question but that your majesty's ambassador was come amply instructed to make those proposals chiefly, which should be most for the interest and honour of both nations, and which we were no less readily prepared to have heard, and to have done effectually that which should have been thought most secure and beneficial on both sides. But it pleased the Supreme Moderator and Governor of all things, that before he had desired to be heard as to those matters, which he had in charge from your majesty to propound to the parliament, he departed this life, (whose loss we took with that heaviness and sorrow as it became persons whom it no less behoved to acquiesce in the will of the Almighty,) whence it comes to pass, that we are prevented hitherto from

knowing your majesty's pleasure, and that there is a stop at present put to this negotiation. Wherefore we thought we could do no less than by these our letters, which we have given to our messenger on purpose sent with these unhappy tidings, to signify to your majesty how acceptable your letters, how grateful your public minister were to the parliament of the commonwealth of England ; as also how earnestly we expect your friendship, and how highly we shall value the amity of so great a princess ; assuring your majesty that we have those thoughts of increasing the commerce between this republic and your majesty's kingdom, as we ought to have of a thing of the highest importance, which for that reason will be most acceptable to the parliament of the commonwealth of England. And so we recommend your majesty to the protection of the Divine Providence.

Sealed with the parliament seal, and subscribed, Speaker,
&c.

Westminster, March —, 1651.

*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the
most Serene and Potent Prince, PHILIP the Fourth, King
of SPAIN, Greeting.*

THE merchants of this commonwealth, who trade in your majesty's territories, make loud complaints of extraordinary violence and injuries offered them, and of new tributes imposed upon them by the governors and other officers of your ports and places where they traffic, and particularly in the Canary Islands, and this against the articles of the league solemnly ratified by both nations on the account of trade ; the truth of which complaints they have confirmed by oath. And they make it out before us, that unless they can enjoy their privileges, and that their losses be repaired ; lastly, that except they may have some certain safeguard and protection for themselves and their estates against those violences and injuries, they can no longer traffic in those places. Which complaints of theirs being duly weighed by us, and believing the unjust proceedings of those ministers either not at all to have reached your knowledge, or else to have been untruly represented to your majesty, we deemed it conve-

nient to send the complaints themselves, together with these our letters, to your majesty. Nor do we question but that your majesty, as well out of your love of justice, as for the sake of that commerce no less gainful to your subjects than our people, will command your governors to desist from those unjust oppressions of our merchants, and so order it, that they may obtain speedy justice, and due satisfaction for those injuries done them by don Pedro de Carillo de Guzman, and others; and that your majesty will take care that the merchants aforesaid may reap the fruit of those articles; and be so far under your protection, that both their persons and their estates may be secure and free from all manner of injury and vexation. And this they believe they shall for the greatest part obtain if your majesty will be pleased to restore them that expedient, taken from them, of a judge-conservator, who may be able to defend them from a new consulship more uneasy to them; lest, if no shelter from injustice be allowed them, there should follow a necessity of breaking off that commerce which has hitherto brought great advantages to both nations, while the articles of the league are violated in such a manner.

Westminster, Aug. —, 1651.

*To the most Serene Prince, the Duke of VENICE, and the
most Illustrious Senate.*

Most Serene Prince, most Illustrious Senate,
our dearest Friends;

CERTAIN of our merchants, by name John Dickins and Job Throckmorton, with others, have made their complaints to us, that upon the twenty-eighth of November, sixteen hundred and fifty-one, having seized upon a hundred butts of caviare in the vessel called the Swallow, riding in the Downs, Isaac Taylor, master, which were their own proper goods, and laden aboard the same ship in the Muscovite Bay of Archangel, and this by the authority of our Court of Admiralty; in which court, the suit being there depending, they obtained a decree for the delivery of the said butts of caviare into their possession, they having first given security to abide by the sentence of that court: and that the said court, to the end the said suit might be brought to a conclu-

sion, having written letters, according to custom, to the magistrates and judges of Venice; wherein they requested liberty to cite John Piatti, to appear by his proctor in the English court of admiralty, where the suit depended, and prove his right; nevertheless, that the said Piatti and one David Rutts, a Hollander, while this cause depends here in our court, put the said John Dickins, and those other merchants, to a vast deal of trouble about the said caviare, and solicit the seizure of their goods and estates as forfeited for debt. All which things, and whatever else has hitherto been done in our foresaid court, is more at large set forth in those letters of request aforementioned; which after we had viewed, we thought proper to be transmitted to the most serene republic of Venice, to the end they might be assistant to our merchants in this cause. Upon the whole therefore, it is our earnest request to your highness, and the most illustrious senate, that not only those letters may obtain their due force and weight; but also, that the goods and estates of the merchants, which the foresaid Piatti and David Rutts have endeavoured to make liable to forfeiture, may be discharged; and that the said defendants may be referred hither to our court, to try what right they have in their claim to this caviare. Wherein your highness and the most serene republic will do as well what is most just in itself, as what is truly becoming the spotless amity between both republics. and lastly, what will gratefully be recompensed by the good-will and kind offices of this republic, whenever occasions offer.

Sealed with the seal of the council, and subscribed, President of the council.

Whitchall, Feb. —, 1652.

To the Spanish Ambassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

THE council of state, according to a command from the parliament dated the second of March, having taken into serious deliberation your excellency's paper of the fifteenth of February, delivered to the commissioners of this council, wherein it seemed good to your excellency to propose that

a reply might be given to two certain heads therein specified as previous, returns the following answer to your excellency.

The parliament, when they gave an answer to those things which were proposed by your excellency at your first audience, as also in those letters which they wrote to the most serene king of Spain, gave real and ample demonstrations how grateful and how acceptable that friendship and that mutual alliance, which was offered by his royal majesty, and by yourself in his name, would be to them; and how fully they were resolved, as far as in them lay, to make the same returns of friendship and good offices.

After that, it seemed good to your excellency, at your first audience in council upon the nineteenth of December, old style, to propound to this council, as a certain ground or method for an auspicious commencement of a stricter amity, that some of their body might be nominated, who might hear what your excellency had to propose; and who having well weighed the benefit that might redound from thence, should speedily report the same to the council. To which request of yours that satisfaction might be given, the council appointed certain of their number to attend your excellency, which was done accordingly. But instead of those things which were expected to have been propounded, the conference produced no more than the above-mentioned paper; to which the answer of the council is this

When the parliament shall have declared their minds, and your excellency shall have made the progress as above expected, we shall be ready to confer with your excellency, and to treat of such matters as you shall propose in the name of the king your master, as well in reference to the friendship already concluded, as the entering into another more strict and binding; or as to anything else which shall be offered by ourselves in the name of this republic: and when we descend to particulars, we shall return such answers as are most proper, and the nature of the thing proposed shall require.

Whitehall, March 21, 1652.

*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the
most Serene Prince, FREDERICK the Third, King of DEN-
MARK, &c., Greeting.*

Most Serene and Potent King,

WE have received your majesty's letters, dated from Copenhagen, the twenty-first of December last, and delivered to the parliament of the commonwealth of England by the noble Henry Willemsem Rosenwyng de Lynsacker, and most gladly perused them, with that affection of mind which the matters therein propounded justly merit, and request your majesty to be fully persuaded of this, that the same inclinations, the same desires of continuing and preserving the ancient friendship, commerce, and alliance for so many years maintained between England and Denmark, which are in your majesty, are also in us. Not being ignorant that, though it has pleased Divine Providence, beholding this nation with such a benign and favourable aspect, to change for the better the received form of the former government among us; nevertheless, that the same interests on both sides, the same common advantages, the same mutual alliance and free traffic which produced the former leagues and confederacies between both nations, still endure and obtain their former force and virtue, and oblige both to make it their common study, by rendering those leagues the most beneficial that may be to each other, to establish also a nearer and sounder friendship for the time to come. And if your majesty shall be pleased to pursue those counsels which are manifested in your royal letters, the parliament will be ready to embrace the same with all alacrity and fidelity, and to contribute all those things to the utmost of their power which they shall think may conduce to that end. And they persuade themselves that your majesty for this reason will take those counsels in reference to this republic which may facilitate the good success of those things propounded by your majesty to ourselves so desirous of your amity. In the mean time, the parliament wishes all happiness and prosperity to your majesty and people.

Under the seal of the parliament, and subscribed in its name, and by the authority of it, Speaker, &c.

Westminster, April —, 1652.

*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the
most Illustrious and Magnificent, the Proconsuls and Sena-
tors of the HANSE TOWNS, Greeting.*

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious,
our dearest Friends,

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England has both received and perused your letters of the sixteenth of January last, delivered by your public minister Leo ab Aysema, and by their authority have given him an audience; at what time he declared the cordial and friendly inclinations of your cities toward this republic, and desired that the ancient friendship might still remain on both sides. The parliament, therefore, for their parts, declare and assure your lordships, that they deem nothing more grateful to themselves than that the same friendship and alliance which has hitherto been maintained between this nation and those cities, should be renewed, and firmly ratified; and that they will be ready, upon all occasions fitly offered, what they promise in words solemnly to perform in real deeds; and expect that their ancient friends and confederates should deal by them with the same truth and integrity. But as to those things which your resident has more particularly in charge, in regard they were by us referred entire to the council of state, and his proposals were to be there considered, they transacted with him there, and gave him such answers, as seemed most consentaneous to equity and reason, of which your resident is able to give you an account; whose prudence and conspicuous probity proclaim him worthy the public character by you conferred upon him.

Under the scal of the parliament, in the name, and by the authority of it, subscribed, Speaker, &c.

Westminster, April —, 1652.

*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the
Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of the City of HAMBO-
ROUGH, Greeting.*

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Illustrious,
our dearest Friends,

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England has received and perused your letters, dated from Hamborough the fifteenth of January last, and delivered by the noble Leo ab

Aysema, yours and the rest of the Hanseatic cities resident, and by their own authority gave him audience; and as to what other particular commands he had from your city, they have referred them to the council of state, and gave there orders to receive his proposals, and to treat with him as soon as might be, concerning all such things as seemed to be just and equal: which was also done accordingly. And as the parliament has made it manifest that they will have a due regard to what shall be proposed by your lordships, and have testified their singular goodwill toward your city, by sending their resident thither, and commanding his abode there; so on the other side they expect, and deservedly require from your lordships, that the same equity be returned to them, in things which are to the benefit of this republic, either already proposed, or hereafter to be propounded by our said resident in their name to your city, anciently our friend and confederate.

Under the seal of the parliament, in the name, and by the authority of it, subscribed, Speaker, &c.

Westminster, April —, 1652.

The Council of State of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince FERDINAND the Second, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, Greeting.

THE council of state being informed by letters from Charles Longland, who takes care of the affairs of the English in your highness's court of Leghorn, that lately fourteen men-of-war belonging to the United Provinces came into that harbour, and openly threatened to sink or burn the English ships that were riding in your port; but that your serenity, whose protection and succour the English merchants implored, gave command to the governor of Leghorn, that he should assist and defend the English vessels: they deemed it their duty to certify to your highness how acceptable that kindness and protection which you so favourably afforded the English nation was to this republic; and do promise your highness, that they will always keep in remembrance the merit of so deserving a favour, and will be ready upon all occasions to make the same returns of friendship and good offices to your people, and to do all things else, which may conduce to the preservation and continuance of the usual amity and commerce between both nations. And whereas the Dutch men-

of-war, even in the time of treaty, offered by themselves, were so highly perfidious as to fall upon our fleet in our own roads, (in which foul attempt, God, as most just arbiter, shewed himself offended and opposite to their design,) but also in the ports of foreigners endeavoured to take or sink our merchant vessels ; we thought it also necessary to send this declaration also of the parliament of the commonwealth of England to your highness, the publishing of which was occasioned by the controversies at present arisen between this republic and the United Provinces. By which your highness may easily perceive how unjust and contrary to all the laws of God and of nations those people have acted against this republic ; and how cordially the parliament laboured, for the sake of public tranquillity, to have retained their pristine friendship and alliance.

In the name, and by the authority of the Council, subscribed, President.

Whitchall, July 29, 1652.

To the SPANISH Ambassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

THE council of state, upon mature deliberation of that paper which they received from your excellency, ^{7 May, 1652,} _{6 June,} as also upon that which your excellency at your audience the ⁴ of this month delivered to the council, return this answer to both those papers : that the parliament, &c., was always very desirous of preserving the firm friendship and good peace settled at present between this republic and his royal majesty of Spain, from the time that first your excellency signified the tendency of his majesty's inclinations that way, and was always ready to ratify and confirm the same to the benefit and advantage of both nations. And this the council of state, in the name, and by command of the parliament, in their papers oftentimes made known to your excellency ; and particularly, according to your excellency's desire, made choice of commissioners to attend and receive from your excellency such proposals as might conduce to the same purpose. At which meeting, instead of making such proposals, it seemed good to your excellency only to propound some general mat-

ters, as it were previous to a future conference, concerning which it seemed to the council that the parliament had in former papers fully made known their sentiments. Nevertheless, for more ample and accumulative satisfaction, and to remove all scruples from your excellency concerning those matters which they at that time proposed, the council in that paper, dated ^{31 March,} _{10 April,} declared themselves ready to come to a conference with your excellency, concerning those things which you had in charge from his royal majesty, as well in reference to the pristine amity, as to any further negotiation; as also touching such matters as should be exhibited by us, in the name of this republic; and when we came to such particulars as were to the purpose, and the nature of the thing required, then to give convenient answers. To which it seemed good to your excellency to make no reply, nor to proceed any further in that affair for almost two months. About that time the council received from your excellency your first paper, dated ^{27 May,} _{6 June,} wherein you only made this proposal, that the articles of peace and league between the late king Charles and your master, dated the 6 of November, 1630, might be reviewed, and that the several heads of it might be either enlarged or left out, according to the present condition of times and things, and the late alteration of government. Which being no more than what we ourselves briefly and clearly signified in our foresaid paper of the ^{31 March,} _{10 April,} the council expected that some particular articles would have been propounded out of that league, with those amplifications and alterations of which you made mention; since otherwise it is impossible for us to return any other answer concerning this matter, than what we have already given. And whereas your excellency, in your last paper, seems to charge us with delay, the council therefore took a second review of the foresaid paper of the ^{27 May,} _{6 June,} and of what was therein propounded, and are still of opinion, that they have fully satisfied your excellency in that former paper: to which they can only further add, that so soon as your excellency shall be pleased, either out of the leagues already made, or in any other manner, to frame such conditions as shall be accommodated to the present state of things and times, upon which you desire to have the foundations of friendship laid on your side, they will immediately return you such answers

as by them shall be thought just and reasonable, and which shall be sufficient testimonials, that the parliament still perseveres in the same desires of preserving an untainted and firm amity with the king your master, and that on their parts they will omit no honest endeavours, and worthy of themselves, to advance it to the highest perfection.

Furthermore, the council deems it to be a part of their duty, that your excellency should be put in mind of that paper of ours, dated January 30, 1651, to which in regard your excellency has returned no answer as yet, we press and expect that satisfaction be given to the parliament as to what is therein mentioned.

The Answer of the Council of State to the Reply of the Lords Ambassadors Extraordinary from the King of DEN-MARK and NORWAY, delivered to the Commissioners of the Council, to the Answer which the Council gave to their fourteen Demands.

To the end that satisfaction may be given to the foresaid lords ambassadors in reference to the answer of the council to the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth article, the council consents, that this following clause shall be added at the end of their answers: that is to say, besides such colonies, islands, ports, and places, under the dominion of either party, to which it is by law provided that nobody shall resort upon the account of trade or commerce, unless upon special leave first obtained of that party to which that colony, island, port, or places belong.

The receiving of any person into any ship that shall be driven in by stress of weather into the rivers, ports, or bays, belonging to either party, shall not render that vessel liable to any trouble or search, by the answer of the council to the eleventh article, as the foresaid lords ambassadors in their reply seem to have understood, unless it be where such a receiving shall be against the laws, statutes, or custom of that place where the vessel put in, wherein it seems to the council, that there is nothing of severity ordained, but what equally conduces to the security of both republics.

As to the proving the property of such ships and goods as shall be cast ashore by shipwreck, the council deems it necessary that an oath be administered in those courts which

are already, or shall hereafter be constituted, where the claimers may be severally heard and everybody's right be determined and adjudged; which cannot be so clearly and strictly done by written certificates, whence many scruples and doubts may arise, and many frauds and deceits creep into that sort of proof, which it concerns both parties to prevent. The council also deems it just, that a certain time be prefixed, before which time, whoever does not prove himself the lawful owner of the said goods, shall be excluded, to avoid suits. But as to the manner of putting perishable goods to sale, that are cast ashore by shipwreck, the council thinks it meet to propose the way of selling by inch of candle, as being the most probable means to procure the true value of the goods for the best advantage of the proprietors. Nevertheless, if the foresaid lords ambassadors shall propose any other method already found out, which may more properly conduce to this end, the council will be no hinderance, but that what is just may be put in practice. Neither is it to be understood, that the consideration of this matter shall put any stop to the treaty.

As to the punishment of those who shall violate the propounded treaty, the council has made that addition, which is mentioned in their answer to the fourteenth article, for the greater force and efficacy of that article, and thereby to render the league itself more firm and lasting.

As to the last clause of the fourteenth article, we think it not proper to give our assent to those leagues and alliances of which mention is made in the aforesaid answers, and which are only generally propounded, before it be more clearly apparent to us what they are. But when your excellencies shall be pleased to explain those matters more clearly to the council, we may be able to give a more express answer to those particulars.

A Reply of the Council of State to the Answer of the foresaid Lords Ambassadors, which was returned to the six Articles propounded by the Council aforesaid, in the Name of the Republic of ENGLAND.

THE council, having viewed the commissions of the foresaid lords ambassadors, giving them power to transact with the parliament or their commissioners, concerning all things

expedient to be transacted in order to the reviving the old leagues, or adding new ones, believed indeed the foresaid lords to have been furnished with that authority, as to be able to return answers, and negotiate all things, as well such as should be propounded by this republic, as on the behalf of the king of Denmark and Norway, and so did not expect the replies which it has pleased the foresaid lords ambassadors to give to the first, second, third, and fifth demand of the council, whereby of necessity a stop will be put to this treaty, in regard it is but just in itself, and so resolved on in council, to comprehend the whole league, and to treat at the same time as well concerning those things which regard this republic, as those other matters which concern the king of Denmark and Norway. Wherefore it is the earnest desire of the council, that your excellencies would be pleased to return an answer to our first, second, third, and fifth demand.

As to the fourth article, concerning the customs of Gluckstadt, in regard they are now abolished, as your excellencies have mentioned in your answer, the council presses that their abrogation may be ratified by this treaty, lest they should be reimposed hereafter.

As to the sixth article, concerning piracy, the council inserted it, as equally appertaining to the benefit of both, and to the establishing of trade in common, which is much disturbed by pirates and sea-robbers. And whereas the answer of the lords ambassadors, as to this article, relates only to enemies, but makes no mention of pirates, the council therefore desires a more distinct reply to it.

And whereas the foresaid lords ambassadors in their reply to the answer of the council have passed over both their tenth article, and the answer of the council to it; the council have thought it necessary to add this following article, to their following demands.

That the people and inhabitants of the republic of England trading into any kingdoms, regions, or territories of the king of Denmark and Norway, shall not for the future pay any more custoins, tribute, taxes, duties, or stipends, or in any other manner, than the people of the United Provinces, or any other foreign nation, that pays the least, coming in or going out of harbour; and shall enjoy the same, and as equally ample freedom, privileges, and immunities, both

coming and going, and so long as they shall reside in the country, as also in fishing, trading, or in any other manner which any other people of a foreign nation enjoys, or may enjoy in the foresaid kingdoms, and throughout the whole dominions of the said king of Denmark and Norway : which privileges also the subjects of the king of Denmark and Norway shall equally enjoy throughout all the territories and dominions of the republic of England.

The Council of State of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince FERDINAND the Second, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, Greeting.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend,

THE council of state understanding, as well by your highness's agent here residing, as by Charles Longland, chief factor for the English at Leghorn, with what affection and fidelity your highness undertook the protection of the English vessels putting into the port of Leghorn for shelter, against the Dutch men-of-war threatening them with nothing but ransack and destruction, by their letters of the twenty-ninth of July (which they hope are by this time come to your highness's hands) have made known to your highness how grateful and how acceptable it was to them ; and at the same time sent to your serenity a declaration of the parliament of the commonwealth of England, concerning the present differences between this republic and the United Provinces. And whereas the council has again been informed by the same Charles Longland, what further commands your highness gave for the security and defence of the English vessels, notwithstanding the opposite endeavours of the Dutch, they deemed this opportunity not to be passed over, to let your highness understand once more, how highly they esteem your justice and singular constancy in defending their vessels, and how acceptable they took so great a piece of service. Which being no mean testimony of your solid friendship and affection to this republic, your highness may assure yourself, that the same offices of kindness and goodwill towards your highness shall never be wanting in us ; such as may be able to demonstrate how firmly we are resolved to cultivate both long and constantly, to the utmost of our power, that friendship which is between your serenity and this republic In the

mean time, we have expressly commanded all our ships, upon their entrance into your ports, not to fail of paying the accustomed salutes by firing their guns, and to give all other due honours to your highness.

Sealed with the council-seal, and subscribed, President.

Whitehall, Sept. —, 1652.

To the SPANISH Ambassador, ALPHONSO DE CARDENAS.

Most Excellent Lord,

YOUR excellency's letters of the 1st of November 1652, delivered by your secretary, together with two petitions enclosed, concerning the ships, the Sampson and San Salvador, were read in council. To which the council returns this answer, That the English man-of-war, meeting with the aforesaid ships, not in the Downs, as your excellency writes, but in the open sea, brought them into port as enemies' ships, and therefore lawful prize; and the court of admiralty, to which it properly belongs to take cognizance of all causes of this nature, have undertaken to determine the right in dispute; where all parties concerned on both sides shall be fully and freely heard, and you may be assured that right shall take place. We have also sent your excellency's request to the judges of that court, to the end we may more certainly understand what progress they have made in their proceeding to judgment. Of which, so soon as we are rightly informed, we shall take care that such orders shall be given in this matter, as shall correspond with justice, and become the friendship that is between this republic and your king. Nor are we less confident that his royal majesty will by no means permit the goods of the enemies of this commonwealth to be concealed, and escape due confiscation under the shelter of being owned by his subjects.

Sealed with the council-seal, and subscribed,

WILLIAM MASHAM, President.

Whitehall, Nov. 11, 1652.

To the SPANISH Ambassador.

Most Excellent Lord,

BUT lately the council has been informed by captain Badiley, admiral of the fleet of this republic in the Straits, that

after he himself, together with three other men-of-war, had for two days together engaged eleven of the Dutch, put into Porto Longone, as well to repair the damages he had received in the fight, as also to supply himself with warlike ammunition ; where the governor of the place performed all the good offices of a most just and courteous person, as well towards his own, as the rest of the men-of-war under his conduct. Now in regard that that same place is under the dominion of the most serene king of Spain, the council cannot but look upon the singular civility of that garrison to be the copious fruit of that stricter mutual amity so auspiciously commenced ; and therefore deem it to be a part of their duty to return their thanks to his majesty for a kindness so opportunely received, and desire your excellency to signify this to your most serene king, and to assure him, that the parliament of the commonwealth of England will be always ready to make the same returns of friendship and civility upon all occasions offered.

Sealed with the council-seal, and subscribed,

WILLIAM MASHAM, President.

Westminster, Nov. 11, 1652.

*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the
most Serene Prince, FERDINAND the Second, Grand Duke
of TUSCANY, Greeting.*

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend,

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England has received your letters dated from Florence, August 17, concerning the restitution of a certain ship laden with rice, which ship is claimed by captain Cardi, of Leghorn. And though the judges of our admiralty have already pronounced sentence in that cause against the aforesaid Cardi, and that there be an appeal depending before the delegates : yet upon your highness's request, the parliament, to testify how much they value the goodwill and alliance of a prince so much their friend, have given order to those who are entrusted with this affair, that the said ship, together with the rice, or at least the full price of it, be restored to theforesaid captain Cardi ; the fruit of which command his proctor here has effectually already reaped. And as your highness, by favourably affording your patronage

and protection to the ships of the English in your port of Leghorn, has in a more especial manner tied the parliament to your serenity; so will they, on the other side, take care, as often as opportunity offers, that all their offices of sincere friendship and goodwill towards your highness may be solidly effectual and permanent; withal recommending your highness to the divine benignity and protection of the Almighty.

Sealed with the seal of the commonwealth, and subscribed,
Speaker, &c.

Westminster, Nov. 1652.

*The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the
most Serene and Potent Prince, King of DENMARK, &c.*

Most Serene and Potent King,

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England have received information from their admiral of that fleet so lately sent to Copenhagen, your majesty's port, to convoy our merchants homeward bound, that the foresaid ships are not permitted to return along with him, as being detained by your majesty's command; and upon his producing your royal letters, declaring your justifications of the matter of fact, the parliament denies that the reasons laid down in those letters for the detaining of those ships are any way satisfactory to them. Therefore, that some speedy remedy may be applied in a matter of so great moment, and so highly conduced to the prosperity of both nations, for preventing a greater perhaps ensuing mischief, the parliament have sent their resident at Hambrough, Richard Bradshaw, esquire, a person of great worth and known fidelity, with express commands to treat with your majesty, as their agent also in Denmark, concerning this affair: and therefore we entreat your majesty to give him a favourable audience and ample credit in whatever he shall propose to your majesty on our behalf, in reference to this matter; in the meantime, recommending your majesty to the protection of Divine Providence.

Under the seal of the parliament, and in their name, and by their authority, subscribed, Speaker, &c.

Westminster, Nov. 6, 1652.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince, the Duke of VENICE, Greeting.

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England has received your highness's letters, dated June 1, 1652, and delivered by Lorenzo Palutio, wherein they not only gladly perceive both yours and the cordial inclination of the senate towards this republic, but have willingly laid hold of this opportunity to declare their singular affection and goodwill towards the most serene republic of Venice; which they shall be always ready to make manifest both really and sincerely, as often as opportunity offers. To whom also all the ways and means that shall be propounded to them for the preserving or increasing mutual friendship and alliance, shall be ever most acceptable. In the mean time we heartily pray, that all things prosperous, all things favourable, may befall your highness and the most serene republic.

Sealed with the parliament-seal, and subscribed, Speaker &c.

Westminster, Dec. 1652.

The Parliament of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince, FERDINAND the Second, Grand Duke of TUSCANY, Greeting.

ALTHOUGH the parliament of the republic of England some time since redoubled their commands to all the chief captains and masters of ships arriving in the ports belonging to your highness to carry themselves peacefully and civilly, and with becoming observance and duty to a most serene prince, whose friendship this republic so earnestly endeavours to preserve, as having been obliged by so many great kindnesses; an accident altogether unexpected has fallen out, through the insolence, as they hear, of captain Appleton, in the port of Leghorn, who offered violence to the sentinel then doing his duty upon the mole, against the faith and duty which he owes this republic, and in contempt of the reverence and honour which is justly owing to your highness: the relation of which action, as it was really committed, the parliament has understood by your letters of the seventh and ninth of December, dated from Florence; as also more at large by the most worthy Almerio

Salvetti, your resident here. And they have so sincerely laid to heart your highness's honour, which is the main concern of this complaint, that they have referred it to the council of state, to take care that letters be sent to captain Appleton, to come away without stop or stay by land, in order to his giving an account of this unwonted and extraordinary act, (a copy of which letters is sent herewith enclosed,) who so soon as he shall arrive, and be accused of the fact, we promise, that such a course shall be taken with him, as may sufficiently testify that we no less heinously brook the violation of your right than the infringement of our own authority. Moreover, upon mature debate concerning the recovered ship, called the Phœnix, of Leghorn, which affair is also related and pressed by your highness and your resident here, to have been done by captain Appleton, contrary to promise given, whereby he was obliged not to fall upon even the Hollanders themselves within sight of the lantern ; and that your highness, trusting to that faith, promised security to the Hollanders upon your word ; and therefore that we ought to take care for the satisfaction of those who suffer damage under the protection of your promise ; the parliament begs of your excellency to be assured, that this fact, as it was committed without their advice or command, so it is most remote from their will and intention, that your highness should undergo any detriment or diminution of your honour by it. Rather they will make it their business, that some expedient may be found out for your satisfaction, according to the nature of the fact, upon examination of the whole matter. Which that they may so much the more fully understand, they deem it necessary that captain Appleton himself should be heard, who was bound by the same faith, and is thought by your excellency at least to have consented to the violation of it; especially since he is so suddenly to return home. And so soon as the parliament has heard him, and have more at large conferred with your resident concerning this matter of no small moment, they will pronounce that sentence that shall be just and consentaneous to that extreme goodwill which they bear to your highness, and no way unworthy the favours by you conferred upon them. Of which that your highness might not make the least question in the mean time, we were willing to certify your highness by this express on purpose sent, that we shall

omit no opportunity to testify how greatly we value your friendship.

Sealed with the parliament-seal, and subscribed, Speaker, &c.

Westminster, Dec. 14, 1652.

The Council of State of the Republic of England, to the most Serene Prince, FREDERICK, Heir of NORWAY, Duke of SLESWICK, HOLSATIA, STORMARAI, DITMARSH, Count in OLDENBURGH and DELMENHORST, Greeting.

THOUGH it has pleased the most wise God and most merciful Moderator of all things, besides the burden which he laid upon us in common with our ancestors, to wage most just wars in defence of our liberty against tyrannical usurpation, signally also to succour us with those auspices and that divine assistance beyond what he afforded to our predecessors, that we have been able not only to extinguish a civil war, but to extirpate the causes of it for the future, as also to repel the unexpected violences of foreign enemies; nevertheless, with grateful minds, as much as in us lies, acknowledging the same favour and benignity of the Supreme Deity towards us, we are not so puffed up with the success of our affairs, but that, rather instructed in the singular justice and providence of God, and having had long experience of ourselves, we abominate the thoughts of war, if possible to be avoided, and most eagerly embrace peace with all men. Therefore, as hitherto we never were the first that violated or desired the violation of that friendship, or those ancient privileges of leagues, that have been ratified between us and any princes or people whatever; so your highness, in consideration of your ancient amity with the English, left us by our ancestors, may, with a most certain assurance, promise both yourself and your people all things equitable, and all things friendly from us. Lastly, as we highly value, which is no more than what is just and reasonable, the testimonies of your affection and good offices offered us, so we shall make it our business that you may not at any time be sensible of the want of ours, either to yourself or yours. And so we most heartily recommend your highness to the omnipotent protection of the Almighty God.

Sealed with the council-seal, and subscribed, President.

Whitehall, July —, 1653.

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Most Illustrious Lord,

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England have received an extraordinary congratulation from your excellency, most kindly and courteously delivered to us by word of mouth by Herman Mylius, your counsellor and doctor of laws; who wished all things lucky and prosperous, in your name, to the parliament and English interest, and desired that the friendship of this republic might remain inviolable within your territories. He also desired letters of safe-conduct, to the end your subjects may the more securely trade and sail from place to place; together with our orders to our public ministers abroad, to be aiding and assisting to your excellency and your interests with their good offices and counsels. To which requests of his we willingly consented, and granted both our friendship, the letters desired, and our orders to our public ministers under the seal of the parliament. And though it be some months ago since your public minister first came to us, however that delay neither arose from any unwillingness on our part to assent to the request made in your excellency's name, or that your deputy was at any time wanting in his sedulity, (whose solicitations were daily and earnest with all the diligence and importunity that became him, to the end he might be dispatched,) but only it happened so, that at that time the greatest and most weighty affairs of the republic were under debate and serious negotiation. Of which we thought meet to certify your illustrious lordship, lest anybody, through a false construction of this delay, should think those favours unwillingly or hardly obtained, which were most gladly granted by the parliament of the commonwealth of England. In whose name these are commanded to be signed.

HENRY SCOBEL, Clerk of the parliament.

To the most Illustrious and Noble Senators, SCULTETS, LANDAM, and Senators of the Evangelic Cantons of SWITZERLAND, ZURICK, BERN, GLARIS, BALE, SCHAFFHUSEN, APPENZEL, also the Confederates of the same Religion in the country of the GRISONS, of GENEVA, ST. GALL, MALHAUSEN, and BIENNE our dearest friends.

YOUR letters, most illustrious lords and dearest confedo-

rates, dated December twenty-four, full of civility, goodwill, and singular affection towards us and our republic, and what ought always to be greater and more sacred to us, breathing fraternal and truly Christian charity, we have received. And in the first place, we return thanks to Almighty God, who has raised and established both you and so many noble cities, not so much intrenched and fortified with those enclosures of mountains, as with your innate fortitude, piety, most prudent and just administration of government, and the faith of mutual confederacies, to be a firm and inaccessible shelter for all the truly orthodox. Now then that you, who over all Europe were the first of mortals, who after deluges of barbarous tyrants from the north, heaven prospering your valour, recovered your liberty, and being obtained, for so many years have preserved it untainted, with no less prudence and moderation ; that you should have such noble sentiments of our liberty recovered ; that you, such sincere worshippers of the gospel, should be so constantly persuaded of our love and affection for the orthodox faith, is that which is most acceptable and welcome to us. But as to your exhorting us to peace, with a pious and affectionate intent, as we are fully assured, certainly such an admonition ought to be of great weight with us, as well in respect of the thing itself which you persuade, and which of all things is chiefly to be desired, as also for the great authority, which is to be allowed your lordships above others in this particular, who in the midst of loud tumultuous wars on every side enjoy the sweets of peace both at home and abroad, and have approved yourselves the best example to all others of embracing and improving peace ; and lastly, for that you persuade us to the very thing which we ourselves of our own accords, and that more than once, consulting as well our own as the interest of the whole evangelical communion, have begged by ambassadors, and other public ministers, namely, friendship and a most strict league with the United Provinces. But how they treated our ambassadors sent to them to negotiate, not a bare peace, but a brotherly amity and most strict league ; what provocations to war they afterwards gave us ; how they fell upon us in our own roads, in the midst of their ambassadors' negotiations for peace and allegiance, little dreaming any such violence ; you will abundantly understand by our declaration set forth upon

this subject, and sent you together with these our letters. But as for our parts, we are wholly intent upon this, by God's assistance, though prosperous hitherto, so to carry ourselves, that we may neither attribute anything to our own strength or forces, but all things to God alone, nor be insolently puffed up with our success; and we still retain the same ready inclinations to embrace all occasions of making a just and honest peace. In the mean time yourselves, illustrious and most excellent lords, in whom this noble and pious sedulity, out of mere evangelical affection, exerts itself to reconcile and pacify contending brethren, as ye are worthy of all applause among men, so doubtless will ye obtain the celestial reward of peace-makers with God; to whose supreme benignity and favour we heartily recommend in our prayers both you and yours, no less ready to make returns of all good offices both of friends and brethren, if in anything we may be serviceable to your lordships.

Sealed with the parliament-seal, and subscribed, Speake,
&c.

Westminster, Oct. 1653.

To the SPANISH Ambassador.

Most Illustrious Lord,

UPON grievous complaints brought before us by Philip Noel, John Godal, and the society of merchants of Foy in England, that a certain ship of theirs, called the Ann of Foy, an English ship by them fitted out, and laden with their own goods, in her return home to the port of Foy about Michaelmas last, was unjustly and without any cause set upon and taken by a certain privateer of Ostend, Erasmus Bruer, commander, and the seamen unworthily and barbarously used: the council of state wrote to the marquis of Leda concerning it, (a copy of which letter we also send enclosed to your excellency,) and expected from him, that without delay orders would have been given for the doing of justice in this matter. Nevertheless, after all this, the foresaid Noel, together with the said company, make further heavy complaint, that although our letters were delivered to the marquis, and that those merchants from that time forward betook themselves to Bruges to the court there held for maritime causes,

and there asserted and proved their right, and the verity of their cause, yet that justice was denied them; and that they were so hardly dealt with, that though the cause had been ripe for trial above three months, nevertheless they could obtain no sentence from that court, but that their ship and goods are still detained, notwithstanding the great expenses they have been at in prosecuting their claim. Now your excellency well knows it to be contrary to the law of nations, of traffic, and that friendship which is at present settled between the English and Flemings, that any Ostender should take any English vessel, if bound for England with English goods ; and that whatever was inhumanly and barbarously done to the English seamen by that commander, deserves a rigorous punishment. The council therefore recommends the whole matter to your excellency, and makes it their request, that you write into Flanders concerning it, and take such speedy care, that this business may no longer be delayed, but that justice may be done in such a manner that the foresaid ship, together with the damages, costs, and interest, which the English have sustained and been out of purse, by reason of that illegal seizure, may be restored and made good to them by the authority of the court, or in some other way ; and that care be taken, that hereafter no such violence be committed, but that the amity between our people and the Flemings may be preserved without any infringement.

Signed in the name, and by the command of the council of state, appointed by authority of parliament.

To the Marquis of LEDA.

GREAT complaints are brought before us by Philip Noel, John Godal, and the company of Foy merchants, concerning a ship of theirs, called the Ann of Foy, which being an English vessel by them fitted out, and laden with their own goods, in her return home to her own port about Michaelmas last, was taken unawares by a freebooter of Ostend, Erasmus Bruer, commander. It is also further related, that the Ostenders, when the ship was in their power, used the seamen too inhumanly, by setting lighted match to their fingers, and plunging the master of the ship in the sea till they almost drowned him, on purpose to extort a false confession from

ERASMUS BRUER.

him, that the ship and goods belonged to the French. Which, though the master and the rest of the ship's crew resolutely denied, nevertheless, the Ostenders carried away the ship and goods to their own port. These things, upon strict inquiry and examination of witnesses, have been made manifest in the admiralty court in England, as will appear by the copies of the affidavits herewith sent your lordship. Now in regard that that same ship, called the Ann of Foy, and all her lading of merchandise and goods, belong truly and properly to English, so that there is no apparent reason why the Ostender should seize by force either the one or the other, much less carry away the master of the ship, and use the seamen so unmercifully: and whereas, according to the law of nations, and in respect of the friendship between the Flemings and the English, that ship and goods ought to be restored: we make it our earnest request to your excellency that the English may have speedy justice done, and that satisfaction may be given for their losses, to the end the traffic and friendship which is between the English and Flemings may be long and inviolably preserved.

To the SPANISH Ambassador.

THE parliament of the commonwealth of England, understanding that several of the people of this city daily resort to the house of your excellency, and other ambassadors and public ministers from foreign nations here residing, merely to hear mass, gave order to the council of state, to let your excellency understand, that whereas such resort is prohibited by the laws of the nation, and of very evil example in this our republic, and extremely scandalous; that they deem it their duty to take care that no such thing be permitted henceforward, and to prohibit all such assemblies for the future. Concerning which, it is our desire, that your excellency should have a fair advertisement, to the end that henceforth your excellency may be more careful of admitting any of the people of this republic to hear mass in your house. And as the parliament will diligently provide that your excellency's rights and privileges shall be preserved inviolable, so they persuade themselves, that your excellency during your abode here, would by no means, that the laws of this republic should be violated by yourself or your attendants.

*A Summary of the particular real Damages sustained by the
ENGLISH Company, in many places of the EAST-INDIES,
from the DUTCH Company in Holland.*

1. THE damages comprehended in the sixteen articles, and formerly exhibited, amounting to 298,555 royals £, which is of our money £74,638. 15s. 0d.

2. We demand satisfaction to be given for the incomes of the island of Pularon, from the year sixteen hundred and twenty-two to this time, of two hundred thousand royals £, besides the future expense, till the right of jurisdiction over that island be restored in the same condition as when it was wrested out of our hands, as was by league agreed to, amounting of our money to £50,000. 0s. 0d.

3. We demand satisfaction for all the merchandise, provision, and furniture taken away by the agents of the Dutch company in the Indies, or to them delivered, or to any of their ships bound thither, or returning home; which sum amounts to 80,635 royals, of our money £20,158. 0s. 0d.

4. We demand satisfaction for the customs of Dutch merchandise laden on board their ships in Persia, or landed there from the year sixteen hundred and twenty-four, as was granted us by the king of Persia, which we cannot value at less than fourscore thousand royals . . . £20,000. 0s. 0d.

5. We demand satisfaction for four houses maliciously and unjustly burnt at Jocatra, together with the warehouses, magazines, and furniture, occasioned by the Dutch governor there, of all which we have information from the place itself, after we had exhibited our first complaints: the total of which damage we value at £50,000. 0s. 0d.

We demand satisfaction for thirty-two thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine pound of pepper, taken out of the ship Endymion in sixteen hundred and forty-nine, the total of which damage amounts to £6,000. 0s. 0d.

£220,796. 15s. 0d.

*A Summary of some particular Damages sustained also from
the DUTCH EAST-INDIA Company.*

1. FOR damages sustained by those who besieged Bantam whence it came to pass, that for six years together we were

excluded from that trade, and consequently from an opportunity of laying out in pepper six hundred thousand royals, with which we might have laden our homeward-bound ships; for want of which lading they rotted upon the coast of India. In the meantime our stock in India was wasted and consumed in mariners' wages, provision, and other furniture; so that they could not value their loss at less than twenty hundred and four thousand royals £600,000. 0s. Od.

2. More for damages by reason of our due part lost of the fruits in the Molucca islands, Banda and Amboyna, from the time that by the slaughter of our men we were thence expelled, till the time that we shall be satisfied for our loss and expenses; which space of time, from the year sixteen hundred and twenty-two, to this present year sixteen hundred and fifty, for the yearly revenue of 250,000 lib. amounts in twenty-eight years to £700,000. 0s. Od.

3. We demand satisfaction for one hundred and two thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine royals, taken from us by the Mogul's people, whom the Dutch protected in such a manner that we never could repair our losses out of the money or goods of that people, which lay in their junks, which we endeavoured to do, and was in our power, had not the Dutch unjustly defended them. Which lost money we could have trebled in Europe, and value at . . . £77,200. 0s. Od.

4. For the customs of Persia, the half part of which was by the king of Persia granted to the English, anno sixteen hundred and twenty-four. Which to the year sixteen hundred and twenty-nine is valued at eight thousand royals; to which add the four thousand lib. which they are bound to pay since sixteen hundred and twenty-nine, which is now one and twenty years, and it makes up the sum of . . . £84,000 0s. Od.

From the first account £220,796 15s. 0d.

Sum total £1,681,996 15s. 0d.

The interest from that time will far exceed the principal.

**LETTERS WRITTEN IN THE NAME OF OLIVER
THE PROTECTOR.**

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Most Illustrious Lord,

By your letters dated January twenty, sixteen hundred and fifty-four, I have been given to understand that the noble Frederic Matthias Wolisog and Christopher Griphiander were sent with certain commands from your illustrious lordship into England; who when they came to us, not only in your name congratulated our having taken upon us the government of the English republic, but also desired that you and your territories might be comprehended in the peace which we are about to make with the Low Countries, and that we would confirm by our present authority the letters of safe-conduct lately granted your lordship by the parliament. Therefore in the first place we return your lordship our hearty thanks for your friendly congratulation, as it becomes us; and these will let you know that we have readily granted your two requests. Nor shall you find us wanting upon any opportunity which may at any time make manifest our affection to your lordship. And this we are apt to believe you will understand more at large from your agents, whose fidelity and diligence in this affair of yours, in our court, has been eminently conspicuous. As to what remains, we most heartily wish the blessings of prosperity and peace, both upon you and your affairs.

Your illustrious lordship's most affectionate,
 OLIVER, protector of England, Scotland,
 and Ireland, &c.

To the Count of OLDENBURGH.

Most Illustrious Lord,

We received your letters, dated May the second, from Oldenburgh, most welcome upon more than one account; as well for that they were full of singular civility and goodwil towards us, as because they were delivered by the hand of the most illustrious count Anthony, your beloved son; which we look upon as so much the greater honour, as not having trusted to report, but with our own eyes, and by our own observation, discerned his virtues becoming such an illustrious

extraction, his noble manners and inclinations, and lastly, his extraordinary affection toward ourselves. Nor is it to be questioned but he displays to his own people the same fair hopes at home, that he will approve himself the son of a most worthy and most excellent father, whose signal virtue and prudence has all along so managed affairs, that the whole territory of Oldenburgh for many years has enjoyed a profound peace, and all the blessings of tranquillity, in the midst of the raging confusions of war thundering on every side. What reason therefore why we should not value such a friendship, that can so wisely and providentially shun the enmity of all men? Lastly, most illustrious lord, it is for your magnificent present* that we return you thanks; but it is of right, and your merits claim, that we are cordially,

Your illustrious lordship's most affectionate,
OLIVER, &c.

Westminster, June 29, 1654.

Superscribed, To the most Illustrious Lord, ANTHONY GUNTHER, count in Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, lord in Jehvern and Kniphausen.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, &c., to the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, Great Prince of FINLAND, Duke of ESTHONIA, CARELIA, BREME, VERDEN, STETTIN in POMERANIA, CASSUBIA, and VANDALIA; Prince of RUGIA, Lord of INGRIA, WISMARIA, as also Count PALATINE of the RHINE, and Duke of BAVARIA, CLEVES, and MONTS, &c., Greeting.

Most Serene King,

THOUGH it be already divulged over all the world, that the kingdom of the Swedes is translated to your majesty with the extraordinary applause and desires of the people, and the free suffrages of all the orders of the realm; yet that your majesty should rather choose that we should understand the welcome news by your most friendly letters, than by the common voice of fame, we thought no small argument both of your goodwill towards us, and of the honour done us among the first.

* The horses which threw him out of the coach-box.

Voluntarily therefore and of right we congratulate this accession of dignity to your egregious merits, and the most worthy guerdon of so much virtue. And that it may be lucky and prosperous to your majesty, to the nation of the Swedes, and the true Christian interest, which is also what you chiefly wish, with joint supplications we implore of God. And whereas your majesty assures us, that the preserving entire the league and alliance lately concluded between this republic and the kingdom of Sweden shall be so far your care, that the present amity may not only continue firm and inviolable, but, if possible, every day increase and grow to a higher perfection, to call it into question would be a piece of impiety, after the word of so great a prince once interposed, whose surpassing fortitude has not only purchased your majesty an hereditary kingdom in a foreign land, but also could so far prevail, that the most august queen, the daughter of Gustavus, and a heroess so matchless in all degrees of praise and masculine renown, that many ages backward have not produced her equal, surrendered the most just possession of her empire to your majesty, neither expecting nor willing to accept it. Now therefore it is our main desire, your majesty should be every way assured, that your so singular affection towards us, and so eminent a signification of your mind, can be no other than most dear and welcome to us; and that no combat can offer itself to us more glorious, than such a one wherein we may, if possible, prove victorious in outdoing your majesty's civility by our kind offices, that never shall be wanting.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth of
England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

Westminster July 4, 1654.

To the most Illustrious Lord, LEWIS MENDEZ DE HARO.

WHAT we have understood by your letters, most illustrious lord, that there is an ambassador already nominated and appointed by the most serene king of Spain, on purpose to come and congratulate our having undertaken the government of the republic, is not only deservedly acceptable of itself, but rendered much more welcome and pleasing to us by your singular affection, and the speed of your civility, as

being desirous we should understand it first of all from yourself. For, to be so beloved and approved by your lordship, who by your virtue and prudence have obtained so great authority with your prince, as to preside, his equal in mind, over all the most important affairs of that kingdom, ought to be so much the more pleasing to us, as well understanding that the judgment of a surpassing person cannot but be much to our honour and ornament. Now as to our cordial inclinations toward the king of Spain, and ready propensity to hold friendship with that kingdom, and increase it to a stricter perfection, we hope we have already satisfied the present ambassador, and shall more amply satisfy the other so soon as he arrives. As to what remains, most illustrious lord, we heartily wish the dignity and favour, wherein you now flourish with your prince, perpetual to your lordship; and whatever affairs you carry on for the public good, may prosperously and happily succeed.

Your illustrious lordship's most affectionate,
OLIVER, &c.

Whitehall, Sept. 1654.

*To the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS
King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.*

BEING so well assured of your majesty's goodwill towards me by your last letters, in answer to which I wrote back with the same affection, methinks I should do no more than what our mutual amity requires, if as I communicate my grateful tidings to reciprocal joy, so when contrary accidents fall out, that I should lay open the sense and grief of my mind to your majesty, as my dearest friend. For my part, this is my opinion of myself, that I am now advanced to this degree in the commonwealth, to the end I should consult in the first place and as much as in me lies, for the common peace of the protestants. Which is the reason, that of necessity it behoves me more grievously to lay to heart what we are sorry to hear concerning the bloody conflicts and mutual slaughters of the Bremeners and Swedes. But this I chiefly bewail, that being both our friends, they should so despitefully combat one against another, and with so much danger to the interests of the protestants; and that the peace of Munster, which it was

thought would have proved an asylum and safeguard to all the protestants, should be the occasion of such an unfortunate war, that now the arms of the Swedes are turned upon those whom but a little before, among the rest, they most stoutly defended for religion's sake ; and that this should be done more especially at this time, when the papists are said to persecute the reformed all over Germany, and to return to their intermittent for some time oppressions, and their pristine violences. Hearing, therefore, that a truce for some days was made at Bremer, I could not forbear signifying to your majesty, upon this opportunity offered, how cordially I desire, and how earnestly I implore the God of peace, that this truce may prove successfully happy for the good of both parties, and that it may conclude in a most firm peace, by a commodious accommodation on both sides. To which purpose, if your majesty judges that my assistance may any ways conduce, I most willingly offer and promise it, as in a thing, without question, most acceptable to the most holy God. In the mean time, from the bottom of my heart, I beseech the Almighty to direct and govern all your counsels for the common welfare of the Christian interest, which I make no doubt but that your majesty chiefly desires.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, &c.

Whitehall, Oct. 26, 1654.

*To the Magnificent and most Noble, the Consuls and
Senators of the City of BREME.*

By your letters delivered to us by your resident Henry Oldenburgh, that there is a difference kindled between your city and a most potent neighbour, and to what straits you are thereby reduced, with so much the more trouble and grief we understand, by how much the more we love and embrace the city of Breme, so eminent above others for their profession of the orthodox faith. Neither is there anything which we account more sacred in our wishes, than that the whole protestant name would knit and grow together in brotherly unity and concord. In the mean time, most certain it is, that the common enemy of the reformed rejoices at these our dissensions, and more haughtily everywhere exerts his fury. But

in regard the controversy, which at present exercises your contending arms, is not within the power of our decision, we implore the Almighty God, that the truce begun may obtain a happy issue. Assuredly, as to what you desired, we have written to the king of the Swedes, exhorting him to peace and agreement, as being most chiefly grateful to heaven, and have offered our assistance in so pious a work. On the other side, we likewise exhort yourselves to bear an equal mind, and by no means to refuse any honest conditions of reconciliation. And so we recommend your city to divine protection and Providence.

Your lordship's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c

Whitehall, Oct. 26, 1654.

*OLIVER, Protector of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the
most Illustrious Prince of TARENTUM.*

YOUR love of religion apparently made known in your letters to us delivered, and your excelling piety and singular affection to the reformed churches, more especially considering the nobility and splendour of your character, and in a kingdom, too, wherein there are so many and such abounding hopes proposed to all of eminent quality that revolt from the orthodox faith, so many miseries to be undergone by the resolute and constant, gave us an occasion of great joy and consolation of mind. Nor was it less grateful to us, that we had gained your good opinion, upon the same account of religion, which ought to render your highness most chiefly beloved and dear to ourselves. We call God to witness, that whatever hopes or expectations the churches according to your relation had of us, we may be able one day to give them satisfaction, if need require, or at least to demonstrate to all men, how much it is our desire never to fail them. Nor should we think any fruit of our labours, or of this dignity or supreme employment which we hold in our republic, greater than that we might be in a condition to be serviceable to the enlargement, or the welfare, or, which is more sacred, to the peace of the reformed church. In the mean time, we exhort and beseech your lordship to remain steadfast to the last minute in the orthodox

religion, with the same resolution and constancy as you profess it received from your ancestors with piety and zeal. Nor indeed can there be anything more worthy yourself, or your religious parents, nor in consideration of what you have deserved of us, though we wish all things for your own sake, that we can wish more noble or advantageous to your lordship, than that you would take such methods, and apply yourself to such studies, that the churches, especially of your native country, under the discipline of which your birth and genius have rendered you illustriously happy, may be sensible of so much the more assured security in your protection, by how much you excel others in lustre and ability.

Whitehall, April —, 1654.

OLIVER, the Protector, &c., to the most Serene Prince, IMMANUEL Duke of SAVOY, Prince of Piemont, Greeting.

Most Serene Prince,

LETTERS have been sent us from Geneva, as also from the Dauphinate, and many other places bordering upon your territories, wherein we are given to understand, that such of your royal highness's subjects as profess the reformed religion, are commanded by your edict, and by your authority, within three days after the promulgation of your edict, to depart their native seats and habitations, upon pain of capital punishment, and forfeiture of all their fortunes and estates, unless they will give security to relinquish their religion within twenty days, and embrace the Roman catholic faith. And that when they applied themselves to your royal highness in a most suppliant manner, imploring a revocation of the said edict, and that, being received into pristine favour, they might be restored to the liberty granted them by your predecessors, a part of your army fell upon them, most cruelly slew several, put others in chains, and compelled the rest to fly into desert places, and to the mountains covered with snow, where some hundreds of families are reduced to such distress, that it is greatly to be feared, they will in a short time all miserably perish through cold and hunger. These things, when they were related to us, we could not choose but be touched with extreme grief and compassion for the sufferings and calamities of this afflicted people. Now in regard we must acknowledge ourselves

linked together not only by the same tie of humanity, but by joint communion of the same religion, we thought it impossible for us to satisfy our duty to God, to brotherly charity, or our profession of the same religion, if we should only be affected with a bare sorrow for the misery and calamity of our brethren, and not contribute all our endeavours to relieve and succour them in their unexpected adversity, as much as in us lies. Therefore in a greater measure we most earnestly beseech and conjure your royal highness, that you would call back to your thoughts the moderation of your most serene predecessors, and the liberty by them granted and confirmed from time to time to their subjects the Vaudois. In granting and confirming which, as they did that which without all question was most grateful to God, who has been pleased to reserve the jurisdiction and power over the conscience to himself alone, so there is no doubt, but that they had a due consideration of their subjects also, whom they found stout and most faithful in war, and always obedient in peace. And as your royal serenity in other things most laudably follows the footsteps of your immortal ancestors, so we again and again beseech your royal highness not to swerve from the path wherein they trod in this particular; but that you would vouchsafe to abrogate both this edict, and whatsoever else may be decreed to the disturbance of your subjects upon the account of the reformed religion; that you would ratify to them their conceded privileges and pristine liberty, and command their losses to be repaired, and that an end be put to their oppressions. Which if your royal highness shall be pleased to see performed, you will do a thing most acceptable to God, revive and comfort the miserable in dire calamity, and most highly oblige all your neighbours, that profess the reformed religion, but more especially ourselves, who shall be bound to look upon your clemency and benignity toward your subjects as the fruit of our earnest solicitation. Which will both engage us to a reciprocal return to all good offices, and lay the solid foundations not only of establishing, but increasing, alliance and friendship between this republic and your dominions. Nor do we less promise this to ourselves from your justice and moderation; to which we beseech Almighty God to incline your mind and thoughts. And so we cordially implore just Heaven to bestow upon your highness and your peo-

ple the blessings of peace and truth, and prosperous success
in all your affairs.

Whitehall, May —, 1655.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Republic of ENGLAND, to the
most Serene Prince of TRANSILVANIA, Greeting.**

Most Serene Prince,

By your letters of the 16th of November, sixteen hundred and fifty-four, you have made us sensible of your singular goodwill and affection towards us; and your envoy, who delivered those letters to us, more amply declared your desire of contracting alliance and friendship with us. Certainly for our parts we do not a little rejoice at this opportunity offered us, to declare and make manifest our affection to your highness, and how great a value we justly set upon your person. But after fame had reported to us your egregious merits and labours undertaken in behalf of the Christian republic, when you were pleased that all these things, and what you have further in your thoughts to do in the defence and for promoting the Christian interest, should be in friendly manner imparted to us by letters from yourself, this afforded us a more plentiful occasion of joy and satisfaction, to hear that God, in those remoter regions, had raised up to himself so potent and renowned a minister of his glory and providence: and that this great minister of heaven, so famed for his courage and success, should be desirous to associate with us in the common defence of the protestant religion, at this time wickedly assailed by words and deeds. Nor is it to be questioned but that God, who has infused into us both, though separated by such a spacious interval of many climates, the same desires and thoughts of defending the orthodox religion, will be our instructor and author of the ways and means whereby we may be assistant and useful to ourselves and the rest of the reformed cities; provided we watch all opportunities, that God shall put into our hands, and be not wanting to lay hold of them. In the mean time we cannot without an extreme and penetrating sorrow forbear putting your highness in mind how unmercifully the Duke of Savoy has persecuted his own subjects, professing the orthodox faith, in certain valleys, at the feet of the Alps: whom he has not

only constrained by a most severe edict, as many as refuse to embrace the catholic religion, to forsake their native habitations, goods, and estates, but has fallen upon them with his army, put several most cruelly to the sword, others more barbarously tormented to death, and driven the greatest number to the mountains, there to be consumed with cold and hunger, exposing their houses to the fury and their goods to the plunder of his executioners. These things, as they have already been related to your highness, so we readily assure ourselves that so much cruelty cannot but be grievously displeasing to your ears, and that you will not be wanting to afford your aid and succour to those miserable wretches, if there be any that survive so many slaughters and calamities. For our parts, we have written to the duke of Savoy, beseeching him to remove his incensed anger from his subjects; as also to the king of France, that he would vouchsafe to do the same; and, lastly, to the princes of the reformed religion, to the end they might understand our sentiments concerning so fell and savage a piece of cruelty. Which, though first begun upon those poor and helpless people, however, threatens all that profess the same religion, and therefore imposes upon all a greater necessity of providing for themselves in general, and consulting the common safety; which is the course that we shall always follow, as God shall be pleased to direct us. Of which your highness may be assured, as also of our sincerity and affection to your serenity, whereby we are engaged to wish all prosperous success to your affairs, and a happy issue of all your enterprises and endeavours, in asserting the liberty of the gospel, and the worshippers of it.

Whitehall, May —, 1655.

OLIVER, Protector, to the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, King of the SWEDES, Greeting.

WE make no question but that the fame of that most rigid edict has reached your dominions, whereby the duke of Savoy has totally ruined his protestant subjects inhabiting the Alpine valleys, and commanded them to be exterminated from their native seats and habitations, unless they will give security to renounce their religion received from their forefathers, in exchange for the Roman catholic superstition, and that within twenty days at furthest: so that many being killed, the rest

stripped to their skins, and exposed to most certain destruction, are now forced to wander over desert mountains, and through perpetual winter, together with their wives and children, half dead with cold and hunger: and that your majesty has laid it to heart, with a pious sorrow and compassionate consideration, we as little doubt. For that the protestant name and cause, although they differ among themselves in some things of little consequence, is nevertheless the same in general, and united in one common interest, the hatred of our adversaries, alike incensed against protestants, very easily demonstrates. Now there is nobody can be ignorant that the kings of the Swedes have always joined with the reformed, carrying their victorious arms into Germany in defence of the protestants without distinction. Therefore we make it our chief request, and that in a more especial manner to your majesty, that you would solicit the duke of Savoy by letters; and, by interposing your intermitting authority, endeavour to avert the horrid cruelty of this edict, if possible, from people no less innocent than religious. For we think it superfluous to admonish your majesty whither these rigorous beginnings tend, and what they threaten to all the protestants in general. But if he rather choose to listen to his anger, than to our joint entreaties and intercessions; if there be any tie, any charity or communion of religion to be believed and worshipped, upon consultations duly first communicated to your majesty, and the chief of the protestant princes, some other course is to be speedily taken, that such a numerous multitude of our innocent brethren may not miserably perish for want of succour and assistance. Which, in regard we make no question but that it is your majesty's opinion and determination, there can be nothing in our opinion more prudently resolved, than to join our reputation, authority, counsels, forces, and whatever else is needful, with all the speed that may be, in pursuance of so pious a design In the mean time, we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty.

OLIVER, Protector, &c., to the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

WE make no question but that you have already been informed of the duke of Savoy's edict, set forth against his

subjects inhabiting the valleys at the feet of the Alps, ancient professors of the orthodox faith; by which edict they are commanded to abandon their native habitations, stripped of all their fortunes, unless within twenty days they embrace the Roman faith; and with what cruelty the authority of this edict has raged against a needy and harmless people, many being slain by the soldiers, the rest plundered and driven from their houses, together with their wives and children, to combat cold and hunger among desert mountains, and perpetual snow. These things with what commotion of mind you heard related, what a fellow-feeling of the calamities of brethren pierced your breasts, we readily conjectured from the depth of our own sorrow, which certainly is most heavy and afflictive. For being engaged together by the same tie of religion, no wonder we should be so deeply moved with the same affections upon the dreadful and undeserved sufferings of our brethren. Besides, that your conspicuous piety and charity toward the orthodox, wherever overborne and oppressed, has been frequently experienced in the most urging straits and calamities of the churches. For my own part, unless my thoughts deceive me, there is nothing wherein I should desire more willingly to be overcome, than in goodwill and charity toward brethren of the same religion, afflicted and wronged in their quiet enjoyments; as being one that would be accounted always ready to prefer the peace and safety of the churches before my particular interests. So far, therefore, as hitherto lay in our power, we have written to the duke of Savoy, even almost to supplication, beseeching him that he would admit into his breast more placid thoughts and kinder effects of his favour towards his most innocent subjects and suppliants; that he would restore the miserable to their habitations and estates, and grant them their pristine freedom in the exercise of their religion. Moreover, we wrote to the chiefest princes and magistrates of the protestants, whom we thought most nearly concerned in these matters, that they would lend us their assistance to entreat and pacify the duke of Savoy in their behalf. And we make no doubt now but you have done the same, and perhaps much more. For this so dangerous a precedent, and lately renewed severity of utmost cruelty toward the reformed, if the authors of it meet with prosperous success, to what apparent dangers it reduces

our religion, we need not admonish your prudence. On the other side, if the duke shall once but permit himself to be stoned and won by our united applications, not only our afflicted brethren, but we ourselves shall reap the noble and abounding harvest and reward of this laborious undertaking. But if he still persist in the same obstinate resolutions of reducing to utmost extremity those people, (among whom our religion was either disseminated by the first doctors of the gospel, and preserved from the defilement of superstition, or else restored to its pristine sincerity long before other nations obtained that felicity,) and determines their utter extirpation and destruction; we are ready to take such other course and counsels with yourselves, in common with the rest of our reformed friends and confederates, as may be most necessary for the preservation of just and good men, upon the brink of inevitable ruin; and to make the duke himself sensible that we can no longer neglect the heavy oppressions and calamities of our orthodox brethren. Farewell.

To the Evangelic Cities of SWITZERLAND.

WE make no question but the late calamity of the Piedmontois, professing our religion, reached your ears before the unwelcome news of it arrived with us: who being a people under the protection and jurisdiction of the duke of Savoy, and by a severe edict of their prince commanded to depart their native habitations, unless within three days they gave security to embrace the Roman religion, soon after were assailed by armed violence, that turned their dwellings into slaughterhouses, while others, without number, were terrified into banishment, where now naked and afflicted, without house or home, or any covering from the weather, and ready to perish through hunger and cold, they miserably wander thorough desert mountains, and depths of snow, together with their wives and children. And far less reason have we to doubt but that so soon as they came to your knowledge, you laid these things to heart, with a compassion no less sensible of their multiplied miseries than ourselves; the more deeply imprinted perhaps in your minds, as being next neighbours to the sufferers. Besides that, we have abundant proof of your singular love and affection for the orthodox faith, of your constancy in retaining it, and your fortitude in defending it.

Seeing then, by the most strict communion of religion, that you, together with ourselves, are all brethren alike, or rather one body with those unfortunate people, of which no member can be afflicted without the feeling, without pain, without the detriment and hazard of the rest; we thought it convenient to write to your lordships concerning this matter, and let you understand how much we believe it to be the general interest of us all, as much as in us lies, with our common aid and succour to relieve our exterminated and indigent brethren; and not only to take care for removing their miseries and afflictions, but also to provide that the mischief spread no further, nor encroach upon ourselves in general, encouraged by example and success. We have written letters to the duke of Savoy, wherein we have most earnestly besought him, out of his wonted clemency, to deal more gently and mildly with his most faithful subjects, and to restore them, almost ruined as they are, to their goods and habitations. And we are in hopes that, by these our entreaties, or rather by the united intercessions of us all, the most serene prince at length will be atoned, and grant what we have requested with so much importunity. But if his mind be obstinately bent to other determinations, we are ready to communicate our consultations with yours, by what most prevalent means to relieve and re-establish most innocent men, and our most dearly beloved brethren in Christ, tormented and overlaid with so many wrongs and oppressions, and preserve them from inevitable and undeserved ruin. Of whose welfare and safety, as I am assured, that you, according to your wonted piety, are most cordially tender; so, for our own parts, we cannot but in our opinion prefer their preservation before our most important interests, even the safeguard of our own life. Farewell.

O. P.

Westminster, May 19th, 1655.

Superscribed, To the most Illustrious and Potent Lords,
the Consuls and Senators of the Protestant Cantons and
Confederate Cities of Switzerland, Greeting.

*To the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of
FRANCE.*

Most Serene and Potent King;

By your majesty's letters, which you wrote in answer to ours of the twenty-fifth of May, we readily understand that we failed not in our judgment, that the inhuman slaughter and barbarous massacres of those men, who profess the reformed religion in Savoy, perpetrated by some of your regiments, were the effects neither of your orders nor commands. And it afforded us a singular occasion of joy to hear that your majesty had so timely signified to your colonels and officers, whose violent precipitancy engaged them in those inhuman butcheries, without the encouragement of lawful allowance, how displeasing they were to your majesty; that you had admonished the duke himself to forbear such acts of cruelty; and that you had interposed with so much fidelity and humanity all the high veneration paid you in that court, your near alliance and authority, for restoring to their ancient abodes those unfortunate exiles. And it was our hopes that that prince would in some measure have condescended to the good pleasure and intercessions of your majesty. But finding not anything obtained, either by your own, nor the entreaties and importunities of other princes in the cause of the distressed, we deemed it not foreign from our duty to send this noble person, under the character of our extraordinary envoy, to the duke of Savoy, more amply and fully to lay before him how deeply sensible we are of such exasperated cruelties, inflicted upon the professors of the same religion with ourselves, and all this too out of a hatred of the same worship. And we have reason to hope a success of this negotiation so much the more prosperous, if your majesty would vouchsafe to employ your authority and assistance once again with so much the more urgent importunity; and as you have undertaken for those indigent people, that they will be faithful and obedient to their prince, so you would be graciously pleased to take care of their welfare and safety, that no further oppressions of this nature, no more such dismal calamities, may be the portion of the innocent and peaceful. This being truly royal and just in itself, and highly agreeable to your benignity and clemency, which everywhere protects in soft security so

many of your subjects professing the same religion, we cannot but expect, as it behoves us, from your majesty. Which act of yours, as it will more closely bind to your subjection all the protestants throughout your spacious dominions, whose affection and fidelity to your predecessors and yourself in most important distresses have been often conspicuously made known: so will it fully convince all foreign princes that the advice or intention of your majesty were no way contributory to this prodigious violence, whatever inflamed your ministers and officers to promote it. More especially if your majesty shall inflict deserved punishment upon those captains and ministers who, of their own authority, and to gratify their own wills, adventured the perpetrating such dreadful acts of inhumanity. In the meanwhile, since your majesty has assured us of your justly-merited aversion to these most inhuman and cruel proceedings, we doubt not but you will afford a secure sanctuary and shelter within your kingdom to all those miserable exiles that shall fly to your majesty for protection; and that you will not give permission to any of your subjects to assist the duke of Savoy to their prejudice. It remains that we make known to your majesty, how highly we esteem and value your friendship: in testimony of which, we further affirm, there shall never be wanting upon all occasions the real assurances and effects of our protestation.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

Whitehall, July 29, 1655.

To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord Cardinal,

HAVING deemed it necessary to send this noble person to the king with letters, a copy of which is here enclosed, we gave him also further in charge to salute your excellency in our name, as having entrusted to his fidelity certain other matters to be communicated to your eminency. In reference to which affairs, I entreat your eminency to give him entire credit, as being a person in whom I have reposed a more than ordinary confidence.

Your eminency's most affectionate,

OLIVER, Protector of the commonwealth of England.

Whitehall, July 29, 1655.

*OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to the
most Serene Prince, FREDERIC III., King of DENMARK,
NORWAY, &c.*

WITH what a severe and unmerciful edict Immanuel, duke of Savoy, has expelled from their native seats his subjects inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, men otherwise harmless, only for many years remarkably famous for embracing the purity of religion; and after a dreadful slaughter of some numbers, how he has exposed the rest to the hardships of those desert mountains, stripped to their skins, and barred from all relief, we believe your majesty has long since heard, and doubt not but your majesty is touched with a real commiseration of their sufferings, as becomes so puissant a defender and prince of the reformed faith: for indeed the institutions of Christian religion require, that whatever mischiefs and miseries any part of us undergo, it should behove us all to be deeply sensible of the same: nor does any man better than your majesty foresee, if we may be thought able to give a right conjecture of your piety and prudence, what dangers the success and example of this fact portend to ourselves in particular, and to the whole protestant name in general. We have written the more willingly to yourself, to the end we might assure your majesty, that the same sorrow, which we hope you have conceived for the calamity of our most innocent brethren, the same opinion, the same judgment you have of the whole matter, is plainly and sincerely our own. We have therefore sent our letters to the duke of Savoy, wherein we have most importunately besought him, to spare those miserable people, that implore his mercy, and that he would no longer suffer that dreadful edict to be in force: which if your majesty and the rest of the reformed princes would vouchsafe to do, as we are apt to believe they have already done, there is some hope that the anger of the most serene duke may be assuaged, and that his indignation will relent upon the intercession and importunities of his neighbour princes. Or if he persist in his determinations, we protest ourselves ready, together with your majesty, and the rest of our confederates of the reformed religion, to take such speedy methods, as may enable us, as far as in us lies, to relieve the distresses of so many miserable creatures, and provide for their

liberty and safety. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty with all prosperity.

Whitehall, May —, 1655.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the City of
GENEVA.**

WE had before made known to your lordships our excessive sorrow for the heavy and unheard-of calamities of the protestants, inhabiting the valleys of Piedmont, whom the duke of Savoy persecutes with so much cruelty; but that we made it our business, that you should at the same time understand, that we are not only affected with the multitude of their sufferings, but are using the utmost of our endeavours to relieve and comfort them in their distresses. To that purpose we have taken care for a gathering of alms to be made throughout this whole republic; which upon good grounds we expect will be such, as will demonstrate the affection of this nation toward their brethren, labouring under the burden of such horrid inhumanities; and that as the communion of religion is the same between both people, so the sense of their calamities is no less the same. In the mean time, while the collections of the money go forward, which in regard they will require some time to accomplish, and for that the wants and necessities of those deplorable people will admit of no delay, we thought it requisite to remit beforehand two thousand pounds of the value of England, with all possible speed, to be distributed among such as shall be judged to be most in present need of comfort and succour. Now in regard we are not ignorant how deeply the miseries and wrongs of those most innocent people have affected yourselves, and that you will not think amiss of any labour or pains where you can be assisting to their relief, we made no scruple to commit the paying and distributing this sum of money to your care; and to give ye this further trouble, that according to your wonted piety and prudence, you would take care, that the said money may be distributed equally to the most necessitous, to the end that though the sum be small, yet there may be something to refresh and revive the most poor and needy, till we can afford them a more plentiful supply. And thus

not making any doubt but you will take in good part the trouble imposed upon ye, we beseech Almighty God to stir up the hearts of all his people professing the orthodox religion, to resolve upon the common defence of themselves, and the mutual assistance of each other against their imbibited and most implacable enemies; in the prosecution of which, we should rejoice that our helping hand might be any way serviceable to the church. Farewell.

Fifteen hundred pounds of the foresaid two thousand will be remitted by Gerard Hench from Paris, and the other five hundred pounds will be taken care of by letters from the lord Stoup.

June 8, 1655.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, the Duke of VENICE.**

Most Serene Prince,

As it has been always a great occasion of rejoicing to us, whenever any prosperous success attended your arms, but more especially against the common enemy of the Christian name; so neither are we sorry for the late advantage gained by your fleet, though, as we understand, it happened not a little to the detriment of our people: for certain of our merchants, William and Daniel Williams, and Edward Beale, have set forth in a petition presented to us, that a ship of theirs, called the Great Prince, was lately sent by them with goods and merchandise to Constantinople, where the said ship was detained by the ministers of the Port, to carry soldiers and provisions to Crete; and that the said ship, being constrained to sail along with the same fleet of the Turks, which was set upon and vanquished by the galleys of the Venetians, was taken, carried away to Venice, and there adjudged lawful prize by the judges of the admiralty. Now therefore in regard the said ship was pressed by the Turks and forced into their service without the knowledge or consent of the owners directly or indirectly obtained, and that it was impossible for her, being shipped with soldiers, to withdraw from the engagement, we most earnestly request your serenity, that you will remit that sentence of your admiralty, as a present to our friendship, and take such care, that the

ship may be restored to the owners, no way deserving the displeasure of your republic by any act of theirs. In the obtaining of which request, more especially upon our intercession, while we find the merchants themselves so well assured of your clemency, it behoves us not to question it; and so we beseech the Almighty God to continue his prosperous blessings upon your noble designs, and the Venetian republic.

Your Serenity's and the Venetian Republic's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

Westminster, December —, 1655.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND &c., to the most Serene Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.*

Most Serene King,

CERTAIN of our merchants, by name Samuel Mico, William Cockain, George Poyner, and several others, in a petition to us have set forth, That in the year 1650, they laded a ship of theirs, called the Unicorn, with goods of a very considerable value; and that the said ship being thus laden with silk, oil, and other merchandise, amounting to above thirty-four thousand of our pounds, was taken by the admiral and vice-admiral of your majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean sea. Now it appears to us, that our people who were then in the ship, by reason there was at that time a peace between the French and us, that never had been violated in the least, were not willing to make any defence against your majesty's royal ships, and therefore, overruled besides by the fair promises of the captains Paul and Terrery, who faithfully engaged to dismiss our people, they paid their obedience to the maritime laws, and produc'd their bills of lading. Moreover, we find that the merchants aforesaid sent their agent into France, to demand restitution of the said ship and goods: and then it was, that after above three years had slipped away, when the suit was brought so far, that sentence of restitution or condemnation was to have been given, that his eminency, cardinal Mazarine, acknowledged to their factor, Hugh Morel, the wrong that had been done the merchants,

and undertook that satisfaction should be given, so soon as the league between the two nations, which was then under negotiation, should be ratified and confirmed. Nay, since that, his excellency, M. de Bourdeaux, your majesty's ambassador, assured us in express words, by the command of your majesty and your council, That care should be taken of that ship and goods in a particular exception, apart from those controversies, for the decision of which a general provision was made by the league: of which promise, the ambassador, now opportunely arrived here to solicit some business of his own, is a testimony no way to be questioned. Which being true, and the right of the merchants in redemanding their ship and goods so undeniably apparent, we most earnestly request your majesty, that they may meet with no delay in obtaining what is justly their due, but that your majesty will admit the grant of this favour, as the first fruits of our revived amity, and the lately renewed league between us. The refusal of which as we have no reason to doubt, so we beseech Almighty God to bless with all prosperity both your majesty and your kingdom.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.

Westminster, December —, 165

To the Evangelic Cities of SWITZERLAND.

IN what condition your affairs are, which is not the best, we are abundantly informed, as well by your public acts transmitted to us by our agent at Geneva, as also by your letters from Zuric, bearing date the twenty-seventh of December. Whereby, although we are sorry to find your peace, and such a lasting league of confederacy, broken; nevertheless since it appears to have happened through no fault of yours, we are in hopes that the iniquity and perverseness of your adversaries are contriving new occasions for ye to make known your long-ago-experienced fortitude and resolution in defence of the Evangelic faith. For as for those of the canton of Schwitz, who account it a capital crime for any person to embrace our religion, what they are might and main designing, and whose instigations have incensed them to reso-

lutions of hostility against the orthodox religion, nobody can be ignorant, who has not yet forgot that most detestable slaughter of our brethren in Piedmont. Wherefore, most beloved friends, what you were always wont to be, with God's assistance still continue, magnanimous and resolute; suffer not your privileges, your confederacies, the liberty of your consciences, your religion itself to be trampled under foot by the worshippers of idols; and so prepare yourselves, that you may not seem to be the defenders only of your own freedom and safety, but be ready likewise to aid and succour, as far as in you lies, your neighbouring brethren, more especially those most deplorable Piedmontois; as being certainly convinced of this, that a passage was lately intended to have been opened over their slaughtered bodies to your sides. As for our part be assured, that we are no less anxious and solicitous for your welfare and prosperity, than if this conflagration had broken forth in our republic; or as if the axes of the Schwitz canton had been sharpened for our necks, or that their swords had been drawn against our breasts, as indeed they were against the bosoms of all the reformed. Therefore so soon as we were informed of the condition of your affairs, and the obstinate animosities of your enemies, advising with some sincere and honest persons, together with some ministers of the church most eminent for their piety, about sending to your assistance such succour as the present posture of our affairs would permit, we came to those results which our envoy Pell will impart to your consideration. In the mean time we cease not to implore the blessing of the Almighty upon all your counsels, and the protection of your most just cause, as well in war as in peace.

Your lordships' and worships' most affectionate,
 OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
 of England, &c.

Westminster, Jan. —, 1655.

*OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
 to the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, by the
 Grace of God King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, Great Prince of FINLAND, &c.*

Most Serene King,
 SEEING it is a thing well known to all men, that there

ought to be a communication of concerns among friends, whether in prosperity or adversity, it cannot but be most grateful to us, that your majesty should vouchsafe to impart unto us by your letters the most pleasing and delightful part of your friendship, which is your joy. In regard it is a mark of singular civility, and truly royal, as not to live only to a man's self, so neither to rejoice alone, unless he be sensible that his friends and confederates partake of his gladness. Certainly then, we have reason to rejoice for the birth of the young prince born to such an excellent king, and sent into the world to be the heir of his father's glory and virtue: and this at such a lucky season, that we have no less cause to congratulate the royal parent with the memorable omen that befell the famous Philip of Macdon, who at the same time received the tidings of Alexander's birth, and the conquest of the Illyrians. For we make no question, but the wresting of the kingdom of Poland from papal subjection, as it were a horn dismembered from the head of the beast, and the peace, so much desired by all good men, concluded with the duke of Brandenburgh, will be most highly conduced to the tranquillity and advantage of the church. Heaven grant a conclusion correspondent to such signal beginnings; and may the son be like the father in virtue, piety, and renown, obtained by great achievements. Which is that we wish may luckily come to pass, and which we beg of the Almighty, so propitious hitherto to your affairs.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

Westminster, Feb. —, 1655.

To the King of DENMARK.

Most Serene and Potent Prince,

JOHN FREEMAN and Philip Travess, citizens of this republic, by a petition presented to us, in their own and the name of several other merchants of London, have made a complaint, That whereas about the month of March, in the year 1653, they freighted a certain ship of Sunderburg, called the Saviour, Nicholas Weinskinks, master, with woollen cloth and other commodities, to the value of above three thousand

pound, with orders to the master, that he should sail directly up the Baltic for Dantzig, paying the usual tribute at Elsenore, to which purpose in particular they gave him money : nevertheless that the said master, perfidiously and contrary to the orders of the said merchants, slipping by Elsenore without paying the usual duty, thought to have proceeded in his voyage, but that the ship for this reason was immediately seized and detained with all her lading. After due consideration of which complaints, we wrote in favour of the merchants to your majesty's ambassador residing at London, who promised, as they say, that as soon as he returned to your majesty, he would take care that the merchants should be taken into consideration. But he being sent to negotiate your majesty's affairs in other countries, the merchants attended upon him in vain, both before and after his departure; so that they were forced to send their agent to prosecute their right and claim at Copenhagen, and demand restitution of the ship and goods ; but all the benefit they reaped by it was only to add more expenses to their former damages, and a great deal of labour and pains thrown away ; the goods being condemned to confiscation, and still detained : whereas by the law of Denmark, as they set forth in their petition, the master is to be punished for his offence, and the ship to be condemned but not the goods. And they look upon this misfortune to lie the more heavy upon them, in regard the duty which is to be paid at Elsenore, as they tell us, is but very small. Wherefore seeing our merchants seem to have given no cause of proscription, and for that the master confessed before his death, that this damage befell them only through his neglect ; and the father of the master deceased, by his petition to your majesty, as we are given to understand, by laying all the blame on his son, has acquitted the merchants ; we could not but believe the detaining of the said ship and goods to be most unjust ; and therefore we are confident, that so soon as your majesty shall be rightly informed of the whole matter, you will not only disapprove of these oppressions of your ministers, but give command that they be called to an account, that the goods be restored to the owners or their factors, and reparation made them for the losses they have sustained. All which we most earnestly request of your majesty, as being no more than what is so just

and consentaneous to reason, that a more equitable demand, or more legal satisfaction cannot well be made, considering the justice of our merchants' cause, and which your own subjects would think but fair and honest upon the like occasions

*To the most Serene Prince, JOHN the Fourth, King of
PORTUGAL, &c*

Most Serene King,

THE peace and friendship which your majesty desired, by your noble and splendid embassy sent to us some time since, after certain negotiations begun by the parliament, in whom the supreme power was vested at that time, as it was always most affectionately wished for by us, with the assistance of God, and that we might not be wanting in the administration of the government which we have now taken upon us, at length we brought to a happy conclusion, and as we hope, as a sacred act, have ratified it to perpetuity. And therefore we send back to your majesty your extraordinary ambassador, the lord John Roderigo de Sita Meneses, count of Pennaguiada, a person both approved by your majesty's judgment, and by us experienced to excel in civility, ingenuity, prudence, and fidelity, besides the merited applause which he has justly gained by accomplishing the ends of his embassy, which is the peace which he carries along with him to his country. But as to what we perceive by your letters dated from Lisbon the second of April, that is to say, how highly your majesty esteems our amity, how cordially you favour our advancement, and rejoice at our having taken the government of the republic upon us, which you are pleased to manifest by singular testimonies of kindness and affection, we shall make it our business, that all the world may understand, by our readiness at all times to serve your majesty, that there could be nothing more acceptable or grateful to us. Nor are we less earnest in our prayers to God for your majesty's safety, the welfare of your kingdom, and the prosperous success of your affairs.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, &c.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the High and Mighty States of the UNITED PRO-
VINCES.**

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

CERTAIN merchants, our countrymen, Thomas Bassel, Richard Beare, and others their co-partners, have made their complaints before us, that a certain ship of theirs, the Edmund and John, in her voyage from the coast of Brazil to Lisbon, was set upon by a privateer of Flushing, called the Red Lion, commanded by Lambert Bartelson, but upon this condition, which the writing signed by Lambert himself testifies, that the ship and whatsoever goods belonged to the English should be restored at Flushing; where when the vessel arrived, the ship indeed, with what peculiarly belonged to the seamen was restored, but the English merchants' goods were detained and put forthwith to sale: for the merchansis who had received the damage, when they had sued for their goods in the court of Flushing, after great expenses for five years together, lost their suit by the pronouncing of a most unjust sentence against them by those judges, of which some, being interested in the privateer, were both judges and adversaries, and no less criminal altogether. So that now they have no other hopes but only in your equity and uncorrupted faith, to which at last they fly for succour: and which they believed they should find the more inclinable to do them justice, if assisted by our recommendation. And men are surely to be pardoned, if, afraid of all things in so great a struggle for their estates, they rather call to mind what they have reason to fear from your authority and high power, than what they have to hope well of their cause, especially before sincere and upright judges: though for our parts we make no question, but that induced by your religion, your justice, your integrity, rather than by our entreaties, you will give that judgment which is just and equal, and truly becoming yourselves. God preserve both you and your republic to his own glory, and the defence and succour of his church.

**OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.**

Westminster, April 1, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND and IRELAND, &c., to the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, Great Prince of FINLAND, Duke of ESTHONIA, CARELIA, BREME, VERDEN, STRETTIN, POMERANIA, CASSUBIA, and VANDALIA, Prince of RUGIA, Lord of INGRIA and WISMARIA, Count PALATINE of the RHINE, Duke of BAVARIA, JULIERS, CLEVES, and MONTS.

Most Serene Prince,

PETER JULIUS COICT having accomplished the affairs of his embassy with us, and so acquitted himself that he is not by us to be dismissed without the ornament of his deserved praises, is now returning to your majesty. For he was most acceptable to us, as well and chiefly for your own sake, which ought with us to be of high consideration, as for his own deserts in the diligent acquittal of his trust. The recommendation therefore which we received from you in his behalf, we freely testify to have been made good by him and deservedly given by yourself; as he on the other side is able with the same fidelity and integrity, to relate, and most truly to declare our singular affection and observance toward your majesty. It remains for us to beseech the most merciful and all-powerful God, to bless your majesty with all felicity, and perpetual course of victory over all the enemies of his church.

Your majesty's most affectionate

**OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.**

Westminster, April 17, 1656.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of
FRANCE.**

Most Serene Prince,

JOHN DETHIC, mayor of the city of London for this year, and William Wakefield, merchant, have made their addresses to us by way of petition, complaining that about the middle of October, sixteen hundred and forty-nine, they freighted a certain ship called the Jonas, of London, Jonas Lightfoot master, with goods that were to be sent to Ostend; which

vesse: was taken in the mouth of the river Thames, by one White of Barking, a pirate, robbing upon the seas by virtue of a commission from the son of king Charles, deceased, and carried to Dunkirk, then under the jurisdiction of the French. Now in regard that by your majesty's edict in the year sixteen hundred and forty-seven, renewed in sixteen hundred and forty-nine, and by some other decrees in favour of the parliament of England, as they find it recorded, it was enacted that no vessel or goods taken from the English, in the time of that war, should be carried into any of your majesty's ports to be there put to sale; they presently sent their factor, Hugh Morel, to Dunkirk, to demand restitution of the said ship and goods from M. Lestrade, then governor of the town; more especially finding them in the place for the most part untouched, and neither exchanged or sold. To which the governor made answer, that the king had bestowed that government upon him of his free gift for service done the king in his wars, and therefore he would take care to make the best of the reward of his labour. So that having little to hope from an answer so unkind and unjust, after a great expense of time and money, the factor returned home. So that all the remaining hopes which the petitioners have, seem wholly to depend upon your majesty's justice and clemency, to which they thought they might have the more easy access by means of our letters; and therefore that neither your clemency nor your justice may be wanting to people despoiled against all law and reason, and contrary to your repeated prohibitions, we make it our request. Wherein, if your majesty vouchsafe to gratify us, since there is nothing required but what is most just and equitable, we shall deem it as obtained rather from your innate integrity, than any entreaty of ours.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

Westminster, May —, 1656

*OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED
PROVINCES.*

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;
JOHN BROWN, Nicholas Williams, and others, citizens of

London, have set forth in their petitions to us, that when they had every one brought in their proportions, and freighted a certain ship called the Good Hope, of London, bound for the East Indies, they gave orders to their factor, to take up at Amsterdam two thousand four hundred Dutch pounds, to insure the said ship; that afterwards this ship, in her voyage to the coast of India, was taken by a ship belonging to the East India company; upon which they who had engaged to insure the said vessel refused to pay the money, and have for this six years, by various delays, eluded our merchants, who, with extraordinary diligence, and at vast expenses, endeavoured the recovery of their just right. Which in regard it is an unjust grievance, that lies so heavy upon the petitioners, for that some of those who obliged themselves are dead or become insolvent; therefore that no further losses may accrue to their former damages, we make it our earnest request to your lordships, that you will vouchsafe your integrity to be the harbour and refuge for people tossed so many years, and almost shipwrecked in your courts of justice, and that speedy judgment may be given according to the rules of equity and honesty in their cause, which they believe to be most just. In the mean time we wish you all prosperity to the glory of God, and the welfare of his church.

Your high and mighty lordships' most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

Westminster, May —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED
PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords,
our dearest Friends;

THE same persons in whose behalf we wrote to your lordships in September the last year, Thomas and William Lower, the lawful heirs of Nicholas Lower, deceased, make grievous complaints before us, that they are oppressed either by the favour or wealth of their adversaries, notwithstanding the justice of their cause: and when that would not suffice, although our letters were often pleaded in their behalf, they have not been

able hitherto to obtain possession of the inheritance left them by their father's will. From the court of Holland, where the suit was first commenced, they were sent to your court, and from thence hurried away into Zealand, (to which three places they carried our letters,) and now they are remanded, not unwillingly, back again to your supreme judicature; for where the supreme power is, there they expect supreme justice. If that hope fail them, eluded and frustrated, after being so long tossed from post to pillar for the recovery of their right, where at length, to find a resting-place they know not. For as for our letters, if they find no benefit of these the fourth time written, they can never promise themselves any advantage for the future from slighted papers. However, it would be most acceptable to us, if yet at length, after so many contempts, the injured heirs might meet with some relief by a speedy and just judgment, if not out of respect to any reputation we have among ye, yet out of a regard to your own equity and justice. Of the last of which we make no question, and confidently presume you will allow the other to our friendship.

Your high and mighty lordships' most affectionate,
 OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
 of England, &c.

Westminster, May —, 1656.

*OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
 to the most Serene Prince, JOHN, King of PORTUGAL.*

Most Serene King,

WHEREAS there is a considerable sum of money owing from certain Portugal merchants of the Brasile company to several English merchants upon the account of freightage and demorage, in the years sixteen hundred and forty-nine and sixteen hundred and fifty, which money is detained by the said company by your majesty's command, the merchants before mentioned expected that the said money should have been paid long since, according to the articles of the last league, but now they are afraid of being debarred all hopes and means of recovering their debts; understanding your majesty has ordered, that what money is owing to them by

the Brasile company shall be carried into your treasury, and that no more than one half of the duty of freightage shall be expended toward the payment of their debts; by which means the merchants will receive no more than the bare interest of their money, while at the same time they utterly lose their principal. Which we considering to be very severe and heavy upon them, and being overcome by their most reasonable supplications, have granted them these our letters to your majesty; chiefly requesting this at your hands, to take care that the aforesaid Brasile company may give speedy satisfaction to the merchants of this republic, and pay them not only the principal money which is owing to them, but the five years' interest; as being both just in itself, and conformable to the league so lately concluded between us; which on their behalf in most friendly manner we request from your majesty.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth, &c.

From our Palace at Westminster, July —, 1656.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King
of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.**

Most Serene King,

As it is but just that we should highly value the friendship of your majesty, a prince so potent and so renowned for great achievements; so is it but equally reasonable that your extraordinary ambassador, the most illustrious lord Christiern Bond, by whose sedulity and care a strict alliance is most sacredly and solemnly ratified between us, should be most acceptable to us, and no less deeply fixed in our esteem. Him therefore, having now most worthily accomplished his embassy, we thought it became us to send back to your majesty, though not without the high applause which the rest of his singular virtues merit; to the end, that he, who was before conspicuous in your esteem and respect, may now be sensible of his having reaped still more abundant fruits of his sedulity and prudence from our recommendation. As for those things which yet remain to be transacted, we have determined in a short time to send an embassy to your majesty for the settling

of those affairs. In the mean time, Almighty God preserve in safety so great a pillar of his church, and of Swedland's welfare.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Palace at Westminster, July —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c., to the most Serene Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Most Serene King, our most dear
Friend and Confederate;

CERTAIN merchants of London, Richard Baker and others, have made their complaint in a petition to us, that a certain hired ship of theirs, called the Endeavour, William Jop master, laden at Teneriff with three hundred pipes of rich Canary, and bound from thence for London, in her voyage between Palma and that island, upon the 21st of Noverember, in the year sixteen hundred and fifty-five, was taken by four French vessels, seeming ships of burden, but fitted and manned like privateers, under the command of Giles de la Roche, their admiral, and carried with all their freight, and the greatest part of the seamen, to the East Indies, whither he pretended to be bound, (fourteen excepted, who were put ashore upon the coast of Guiney,) which the said Giles affirmed he did with that intent, that none of them might escape from so remote and barbarous a country to do him any harm by their testimony. For he confessed he had neither any commission to take the English vessels, neither had he taken any, as he might have done before, well knowing there was a firm peace at that time between the French and our republic: but in regard he had designed to revictual in Portugal, from whence he was driven by contrary winds, he was constrained to supply his necessities with what he found in that vessel; and believed the owners of his ships would satisfy the merchants for their loss. Now the loss of our merchants amounts to sixteen thousand English pounds, as will easily be made appear by witnesses upon oath. But if it shall be lawful, upon such trivial excuses as these, for pirates to violate the most religious acts of princes, and make a sport of merchants for their particular benefits, certainly the sanctity of

leagues must fall to the ground, all faith and authority of princes will grow out of date, and be trampled under foot. Wherefore we not only request your majesty, but believe it mainly to concern your honour, that they, who have ventured upon so slight a pretence to violate the league and most sacred oath of their sovereign, should suffer the punishment due to such perfidiousness and daring insolence; and that in the mean time the owners of those ships, though to their loss, should be bound to satisfy our merchants for the vast detriment which they have so wrongfully sustained. So may the Almighty long preserve your majesty, and support the interest of France against the common enemy of us both.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector, &c.

From our Palace at Westminster, Aug. —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, to his Eminency, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING an occasion to send letters to the king, we thought it likewise an offered opportunity to write to your eminency. For we could not think it proper to conceal the subject of our writing from the sole and only person, whose singular prudence governs the most important interests of the French nation, and the most weighty affairs of the kingdom with equal fidelity, counsel and vigilance. Not without reason we complain, in short, to find that league by yourself, as it were a crime to doubt, most sacredly concluded, almost the very same day contemned and violated by one Giles, a Frenchman, a petty admiral of four ships, and his associates, equally concerned, as your eminency will readily find by our letters to the king, and the demands themselves of our merchants. Nor is it unknown to your excellency, how much it concerns not only inferior magistrates, but even royal majesty itself, that those first violators of solemn alliances should be severely punished. But they, perhaps, by this time being arrived in the East Indies, whither they pretended to be bound, enjoy in undisturbed possession the goods of our people as lawful prize won from an enemy, which they robbed and pillaged from the owners, contrary to all law, and the pledged faith of our late sacred league. However, this is that which we re-

quest from your eminency, that whatever goods were taken from our merchants by the admiral of those ships, as necessary for his voyage, may be restored by the owners of the same vessels, which was no more than what the rovers themselves thought just and equal; which, as we understand, it lies within your power to do, considering the authority and sway you bear in the kingdom.

Your eminency's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth, &c.

From our Palace at Westminster, Aug. —, 1656.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most High and Mighty Lords, the States of the
UNITED PROVINCES.**

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest
Friends and Confederates;

WE make no doubt but that all men will bear us this testimony, that no considerations, in contracting foreign alliances, ever swayed us beyond those of defending the truth of religion, or that we accounted anything more sacred, than to unite the minds of all the friends and protectors of the protestants, and of all others who at least were not their enemies. Whence it comes to pass, that we are touched with so much the more grief of mind, to hear that the protestant princes and cities, whom it so much behoves to live in friendship and concord together, should begin to be so jealous of each other, and so ill disposed to mutual affection; more especially that your lordships and the king of Sweden, than whom the orthodox faith has not more magnanimous and courageous defenders, nor our republic confederates more strictly conjoined in interests, should seem to remit of your confidence in each other; or rather, that there should appear some too apparent signs of tottering friendship and growing discord between ye. What the causes are, and what progress this alienation of your affection has made, we protest ourselves to be altogether ignorant. However, we cannot but conceive an extraordinary trouble of mind for these beginnings of the least dissension arisen among brethren, which infallibly must greatly endanger the protestant interests. Which if they should gather strength, how prejudicial it would prove to protestant churches, what an occasion of triumph it would

afford our enemies, and more especially the Spaniards, cannot be unknown to your prudence, and most industrious experience of affairs. As for the Spaniards, it has already so enlivened their confidence, and raised their courage, that they made no scruple by their ambassador residing in your territories, boldly to obtrude their counsels upon your lordships, and that in reference to the highest concerns of your republic; presuming partly with threats of renewing the war, to terrify, and partly with a false prospect of advantage, to solicit your lordships to forsake your ancient and most faithful friends, the English, French, and Danes, and enter into a strict confederacy with your old enemy, and once your domineering tyrant, now seemingly atoned; but, what is most to be feared, only at present treacherously fawning to advance his own designs. Certainly he who of an inveterate enemy lays hold of so slight an occasion of a sudden to become your counsellor, what is it that he would not take upon him? Where would his insolency stop, if once he could but see with his eyes what now he only ruminates and labours in his thoughts; that is to say, division and a civil war among the protestants? We are not ignorant that your lordships, out of your deep wisdom, frequently revolve in your minds what the posture of all Europe is, and what more especially the condition of the protestants: that the cantons of Switzerland, adhering to the orthodox faith, are in daily expectation of new troubles to be raised by their countrymen embracing the popish ceremonies; scarcely recovered from that war, which for the sake of religion was kindled and blown up by the Spaniards, who supplied their enemies both with commanders and money: that the counsels of the Spaniards are still contriving to continue the slaughter and destruction of the Piedmontois, which was cruelly put in execution the last year: that the protestants under the jurisdiction of the emperor are most grievously harassed, having much ado to keep possession of their native homes: that the king of Sweden, whom God, as we hope, has raised up to be a most stout defender of the orthodox faith, is at present waging, with all the force of his kingdom, a doubtful and bloody war with the most potent enemies of the reformed religion: that your own provinces are threatened with hostile confederacies of the princes your neighbours, headed by the Spaniards; and, lastly, that we ourselves are

busied in a war proclaimed against the king of Spain. In this posture of affairs, if any contest should happen between your lordships and the king of Sweden, how miserable would be the condition of all the reformed churches over all Europe, exposed to the cruelty and fury of unsanctified enemies!. These cares not slightly seize us ; and we hope your sentiments to be the same ; and that out of your continued zeal for the common cause of the protestants, and to the end the present peace between brethren professing the same faith, the same hope of eternity, may be preserved inviolable, your lordships will accommodate your counsels to those considerations, which are to be preferred before all others ; and that you will leave nothing neglected that may conduce to the establishing tranquillity and union between your lordships and the king of Sweden. Wherein, if we can any way be useful, as far as our authority, and the favour you bear us will sway with your lordships, we freely offer our utmost assistance, prepared in like manner to be no less serviceable to the king of Sweden, to whom we design a speedy embassy, to the end we*may declare our sentiments at large concerning these matters. We hope, moreover, that God will bend your minds on both sides to moderate counsels, and so restrain your animosities, that no provocation may be given, either by the one or the other, to fester your differences to extremity ; but that, on the other side, both parties will remove whatever may give offence or occasion of jealousy to the other. Which, if you shall vouchsafe to do, you will disappoint your enemies, prove the consolation of your friends, and in the best manner provide for the welfare of your republic. And this we beseech you to be fully convinced of, that we shall use our utmost care to make appear, upon all occasions, our extraordinary affection and goodwill to the states of the United Provinces. And so we most earnestly implore the Almighty God to perpetuate his blessings of peace, wealth, and liberty, upon your republic ; but above all things to preserve it always flourishing in the love of the Christian faith, and the true worship of his name.

Your high and mightinesses' most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Palace at Westminster, Aug. —, 1656.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, JOHN, King of PORTUGAL.**

Most Serene Prince,

UPON the eleventh of July last, old style, we received, by Thomas Maynard, the ratification of the peace negotiated at London by your extraordinary ambassador; as also of the private and preliminary articles, all now confirmed by your majesty: and by our letters from Philip Meadows, our agent at Lisbon, dated the same time, we understand that our ratification also of the same peace and articles was by him, according to our orders sent him, delivered to your majesty: and thus the instruments of the forementioned ratification being mutually interchanged on both sides in the beginning of June last, there is now a firm and settled peace between both nations. And this pacification has given us no small occasion of joy and satisfaction, as believing it will prove to the common benefit of both nations, and to the no slight detriment of our common enemies, who, as they found out a means to disturb the former league, so they left nothing neglected to have hindered the renewing of this. Nor do we question in the least, that they will omit any occasion of creating new matter for scandals and jealousies between us. Which we however have constantly determined, as much as in us lies, to remove at a remote distance from our thoughts; rather we so earnestly desire, that this our alliance may beget a mutual confidence, greater every day than other, that we shall take them for our enemies, who shall by any artifices endeavour to molest the friendship by this peace established between ourselves and both our people. And we readily persuade ourselves, that your majesty's thoughts and intentions are the same. And whereas it has pleased your majesty, by your letters dated the twenty-fourth of June, and some days after the delivery by our agent of the interchanged instrument of confirmed peace, to mention certain clauses of the league, of which you desired some little alteration, being of small moment to this republic, as your majesty believes, but of great importance to the kingdom of Portugal; we shall be ready to enter into a particular treaty in order to those proposals made by your majesty, or whatever else may conduce, in the judgment of both parties, to the further establishment and more strongly fastening of the

league; wherein we shall have those due considerations of your majesty and your subjects, as also of our own people, that all may be satisfied; and it shall be in your own choice, whether these things shall be negotiated at Lisbon or at London. However, the league being now confirmed, and duly sealed with the seals of both nations, to alter any part of it would be the same thing as to annul the whole; which we are certainly assured your majesty by no means desires to do. We heartily wish all things lucky, all things prosperous to your majesty.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Palace at Westminster, Aug. —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, JOHN, King of PORTUGAL.

Most Serene King,

WE have received the unwelcome news of a wicked and inhuman attempt to have murdered our agent, Philip Meadows, residing with your majesty, and by us sent upon the blessed errand of peace; the heinousness of which was such, that his preservation is only to be attributed to the protection of Heaven. And we are given to understand, by your letters dated the twenty-sixth of May last, and delivered to us by Thomas Maynard, that your majesty, justly incensed at the horridness of the fact, has commanded inquiry to be made after the criminals, to the end they may be brought to condign punishment: but we do not hear that any of the ruffians are yet apprehended, or that your commands have wrought any effect in this particular. Wherefore we thought it our duty openly to declare, how deeply we resent this barbarous outrage in part attempted, and in part committed: and therefore we make it our request to your majesty, that due punishment may be inflicted upon the authors, associates, and encouragers of this abominable fact. And to the end that this may be the more speedily accomplished, we further demand, that persons of honesty and sincerity, wellwishers to the peace of both nations, may be entrusted with the examination of this business, that so a due scrutiny may be made into the bottom of this mali-

gross contrivance, to the end both authors and assistants may be the more severely punished. Unless this be done, neither your majesty's justice, nor the honour of this republic, can be vindicated; neither can there be any stable assurance of peace between both nations. We wish your majesty all things fortunate and prosperous.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Palace at Whitehall, August —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of E LAN , &c.
to the most Illustrious Lord, the CONDE D'ODEMIRA.

Most Illustrious Lord,

YOUR singular goodwill towards us and this republic has laid no mean obligation upon us, nor slightly tied us to acknowledgment. We readily perceived it by your letters of the twenty-fifth of June last, as also by those which we received from our agent Philip Meadows, sent into Portugal to conclude the peace in agitation, wherein he informed us of your extraordinary zeal and diligence to promote the pacification, of which we most joyfully received the last ratification; and we persuade ourselves, that your lordship will have no cause to repent either of your pains and diligence in procuring this peace, or of your goodwill to the English, or your fidelity towards the king, your sovereign; more especially considering the great hopes we have that this peace will be of high advantage to both nations, and not a little inconvenient to our enemies. The only accident that fell out unfortunate and mournful in this negotiation, was that unhallowed villainy nefariously attempted upon the person of our agent, Philip Meadows: the concealed authors of which intended piece of inhumanity ought no less diligently to be sought after, and made examples to posterity, than the vilest of most openly detected assassinations. Nor can we doubt in the least of your king's severity and justice in the punishment of a crime so horrid, nor of your care and sedulity to see that there be no remissness of prosecution, as being a person bearing due veneration to the laws of God, and sanctity among men, and no less zealous to maintain the peace between both nations, which

never can subsist if such inhuman barbarities as these escape unpunished and unrevenged. But your abhorrence and detestation of the fact is so well known, that there is no need of insisting any more at present upon this unpleasing subject. Therefore having thus declared our goodwill and affection to your lordship, of which we shall be always ready to give apparent demonstrations, there nothing remains, but to implore the blessings of Divine favour and protection upon you, and all yours.

Your lordship's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Palace at Westminster, Aug. —, 1656.

*OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the
SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS.*

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend
and Confederate;

BEING assured of your majesty's concurrence both in thoughts and counsels for the defence of the protestant faith against the enemies of it, if ever, now at this time most dangerously vexatious ; though we cannot but rejoice at your prosperous successes, and the daily tidings of your victories, yet on the other side we cannot but be as deeply afflicted, to meet with one thing that disturbs and interrupts our joy ; we mean the bad news intermixed with so many welcome tidings, that the ancient friendship between your majesty and the States of the United Provinces looks with a dubious aspect, and that the mischief is exasperated to that height, especially in the Baltic sea, as seems to bode an unhappy rupture. We confess ourselves ignorant of the causes ; but we too easily foresee, that the events, which God avert, will be fatal to the interests of the protestants. And therefore, as well in respect to that most strict alliance between us and your majesty, as out of that affection and love to the reformed religion, by which we all of us ought chiefly to be swayed, we thought it our duty, as we have most earnestly exhorted the States of the United Provinces to peace and moderation, so now to persuade your majesty to the same. The protestants have

enemies everywhere enow and to spare, inflamed with inexorable revenge ; they never were known to have conspired more perniciously to our destruction : witness the valleys of Piedmont, still reeking with the blood and slaughter of the miserable ; witness Austria, lately turmoiled with the emperor's edicts and proscriptions ; witness Switzerland. But to what purpose is it, in many words to call back the bitter lamentations and remembrance of so many calamities ? Who so ignorant, as not to know, that the counsels of the Spaniards, and the Roman pontiff, for these two years have filled all these places with conflagrations, slaughter, and vexation of the orthodox ? If to these mischiefs there should happen an access of dissension among protestant brethren, more especially between two potent states, upon whose courage, wealth, and fortitude, so far as human strength may be relied upon, the support and hopes of all the reformed churches depend ; of necessity the protestant religion must be in great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of destruction. On the other side, if the whole protestant name would but observe perpetual peace among themselves with that same brotherly union as becomes their profession, there would be no occasion to fear, what all the artifices or puissance of our enemies could do to hurt us which our fraternal concord and harmony alone would easily repel and frustrate. And therefore we most earnestly request and beseech your majesty, to harbour in your mind propitious thoughts of peace, and inclinations ready bent to repair the breaches of your pristine friendship with the United Provinces, if in any part it may have accidentally suffered the decays of mistakes or misconstruction. If there be anything wherein our labour, our fidelity, and diligence may be useful toward this composure, we offer and devote all to your service. And may the God of heaven favour and prosper your noble and pious resolutions, which, together with all felicity, and a perpetual course of victory, we cordially wish to your majesty.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Palace at Westminster, Aug —, 1656.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the States of HOLLAND.**

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends;

IT has been represented to us, by William Cooper, a minister of London, and our countryman, that John le Maire of Amsterdam, his father-in-law, about three and thirty years ago devised a project, by which the revenues of your republic might be very much advanced without any burden to the people, and made an agreement with John Vandenbrook, to share between them the reward, which they should obtain for their invention; which was the settling of a little seal to be made use of in all the provinces of your territories, and for which your high and mightinesses promised to pay the said Vandenbrook and his heirs the yearly sum of three thousand gilders, or three hundred English pounds. Now although the use and method of this little seal has been found very easy and expeditious, and that ever since great incomes have thereby accrued to your high and mightinesses, and some of your provinces, nevertheless nothing of the said reward, though with much opportunity demanded, has been paid to this day; so that the said Vandenbrook and le Maire being tired out with long delays, the right of the said grant is devolved to the foresaid William Cooper, our countryman; who, desirous to reap the fruit of his father-in-law's industry, has petitioned us, that we would recommend his just demands to your high and mightinesses, which we thought not reasonable to deny him. Wherefore, in most friendly wise, we request your high and mightinesses favourably to hear the petition of the said William Cooper, and to take such care, that the reward and stipend, so well deserved, and by contract agreed and granted, may be paid him annually from this time forward, together with the arrears of the years already passed. Which not doubting but your high and mightinesses will vouchsafe to perform, as what is no more than just and becoming your magnificence, we shall be ready to shew the same favour to the petitions of your countrymen upon any occasions of the same nature, whenever presented to us.

Your high and mightinesses' most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth, &c.

From our Palace at Whitehall, September —, 1656.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.**

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend
and Confederate;

AGAINST our will it is, that we so often trouble your majesty with the wrongs done by your subjects after a peace so lately renewed. But as we are fully persuaded, that your majesty disapproves their being committed, so neither can we be wanting to the complaints of our people. That the ship Anthony, of Dieppe, was legally taken before the league, manifestly appears by the sentence of the judges of our admiralty court. Part of the lading, that is to say, four thousand hides, Robert Brown, a merchant of London, fairly bought of those who were entrusted with the sale, as they themselves testify. The same merchant, after the peace was confirmed, carried to Dieppe about two hundred of the same hides, and there having sold them to a currier, thought to have received his money, but found it stopped and attached in the hands of his factor; and a suit being commenced against him, he could obtain no favour in that court; wherefore, we thought it proper to request your majesty, that the whole matter may be referred to your council, that so the said money may be discharged from an unjust and vexatious action. For if acts done and adjudged before the peace shall after peace renewed be called into question and controversy, we must look upon assurance of treaties to be a thing of little moment. Nor will there be any end of these complaints, if some of these violators of leagues be not made severe and timely examples to others. Which we hope your majesty will speedily take into your care. To whom God Almighty in the mean time vouchsafe his most holy protection.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

**OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.**

From our Palace at Whitehall, Sept. —, 1656.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.
to the most Serene Prince, JOHN, King of PORTUGAL.**

Most Serene King,

THE peace being happily concluded between this republic

and the kingdom of Portugal, and what refers to trade being duly provided for and ratified, we deemed it necessary to send to your majesty Thomas Maynard, from whom you will receive these letters, to reside in your dominions, under the character and employment of a consul, and to take care of the estates and interests of our merchants. Now in regard it may frequently so fall out, that he may be enforced to desire the privilege of free admission to your majesty, as well in matters of trade, as upon other occasions for the interest of our republic, we make it our request to your majesty, that you will vouchsafe him favourable access and audience, which we shall acknowledge as a singular demonstration and testimony of your majesty's goodwill towards us. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty with all prosperity.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Court at Westminster, Oct. —, 1656.

To the King of the SWEDES.

Most Serene and Potent King,

ALTHOUGH your majesty's wonted and spontaneous favour and goodwill toward all deserving men be such, that all recommendations in their behalf may seem superfluous, yet we were unwilling to dismiss without our letters to your majesty this noble person, William Vavassour, knight, serving under your banners, and now returning to your majesty: which we have done so much the more willingly, being informed, that formerly following your majesty's fortunate conduct, he had lost his blood in several combats, to assert the noble cause for which you fight. Insomuch, that the succeeding kings of Swedeland, in remuneration of his military skill, and bold achievements in war, rewarded him with lands and annual pensions, as the guerdons of his prowess. Nor do we question, but that he may be of great use to your majesty in your present wars, who has been so long conspicuous for his fidelity and experience in military affairs. It is our desire therefore, that he may be recommended to your majesty according

to his merits ; and we also further request, that he may be paid the arrears due to him. This, as it will be most acceptable to us, so we shall be ready upon the like occasion, whenever offered, to gratify your majesty, to whom we wish all happiness and prosperity.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, JOHN, King of PORTUGAL.*

Most Serene King, our dearest Friend
and Confederate ;

THOMAS EVANS, a master of a ship, and our countryman, has presented a petition to us, wherein he sets forth, that in the years 1649 and 1650 he served the Brasile company with his ship, the Scipio, being a vessel of four hundred tons, and of which he was master ; that the said ship was taken from him, with all the lading and furniture, by your majesty's command ; by which he has received great damage, besides the loss of six years' gain arising out of such a stock. The commissioners by the league appointed on both sides, for the deciding controversies valued the whole at seven thousand of our pounds, or twice as many milrees of Portugal money, as they made their report to us. Which loss falling so heavy upon the foresaid Thomas, and being constrained to make a voyage to Lisbon for the recovery of his estate, he humbly besought us, that we would grant him our letters to your majesty in favour of his demands.—We, therefore, (although we wrote the last year in the behalf of our merchants in general to whom the Brasile company was indebted, nevertheless that we may not be wanting to any that implore our aid,) request your majesty, in regard to that friendship which is between us, that consideration may be had of this man in particular, and that your majesty would give such orders to all your ministers and officers, that no obstacle may hinder him from demanding and recovering without delay what is owing to him from the Brasile company, or any other persons.

God Almighty bless your majesty with perpetual felicity, and grant that our friendship may long endure.

Your majesty's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

From our Palace at Westminster, Oct. — 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., to the Illustrious and Magnificent Senate of HAN- BOROUGH.

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful;

JAMES and Patrick Hays, subjects of this commonwealth, have made grievous complaint before us, That they, being lawful heirs of their brother Alexander, who died intestate, were so declared by a sentence of your court pronounced in their behalf against their brother's widow; and the estates of their deceased brother, together with the profits, only the widow's dowry excepted, being adjudged to them by virtue of that sentence; nevertheless, to this very day they could never reap any benefit of their pains and expenses in obtaining the said judgment, notwithstanding their own declared right, and letters formerly written by King Charles in their behalf; for that the great power and wealth of Albert van Eyzan, one of your chief magistrates, and with whom the greatest part of the goods was deposited, was an opposition too potent for them to surmount, while he strove all that in him lay that the goods might not be restored to the heirs. Thus disappointed and tired out with delays, and at length reduced to utmost poverty, they are become suppliants to us, that we would not forsake them, wronged and oppressed as they are in a confederated city. We therefore, believing it to be a chief part of our duty not to suffer any countryman of ours in vain to desire our patronage and succour in distress, make this request to your lordships, which we are apt to think we may easily obtain from your city, That the sentence pronounced in behalf of the two brothers may be ratified and duly executed, according to the intents and purposes for which it was given; and that you will not suffer any longer delay of justice, by an appeal to the chamber of Spire, upon any pretence whatever; for we have required the opinions of our lawyers, which we have sent to your lordships fairly written and signed

But if entreaty and fair means will nothing avail, of necessity (and which is no more than according to the customary law of nations, though we are unwilling to come to that extremity) the severity of retaliation must take its course; which we hope your prudence will take care to prevent.

Your lordships' most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Palace at Westminster, Oct. 16, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene and Potent LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest
Friend and Confederate;

WE are apt to believe, that your majesty received our letters dated the 14th of May, of the last year, wherein we wrote that John Dethic, mayor of London that year, and William Waterford, merchant, had by their petition set forth, that a certain vessel, called the Jonas, freighted with goods upon their account, and bound for Dunkirk, then under the jurisdiction of the French, was taken at the very mouth of the Thames, by a sea-rover, pretending a commission from the son of the late king Charles: which being directly contrary to your edicts and the decrees of your council, that no English ship, taken by the enemies of the parliament, should be admitted into any of your ports, and there put to sale, they demanded restitution of the said ship and goods from M. Lestrade, then governor of the town, who returned them an answer no way becoming a person of his quality, or who pretended obedience to his sovereign; That the government was conferred upon him for his good service in the wars, and therefore he would make his best advantage of it, that is to say, by right or wrong; for that he seemed to drive at: as if he had received that government of your majesty's free gift, to authorize him in the robbing your confederates, and contemning your edicts set forth in their favour. For what the king of France forbids his subjects any way to have a hand in, that the king's governor has not only suffered to be committed in your ports, but he himself becomes the pirate, seizes the prey, and openly avouches the fact. With this answer therefore the merchants

departed, altogether baffled and disappointed ; and this we signified by our letters to your majesty the last year with little better success ; for as yet we have received no reply to those letters. Of which we are apt to believe the reason was, because the governor was with the army in Flanders ; but now he resides at Paris, or rather flutters unpunished about the city, and at court, enriched with the spoils of our merchants. Once more therefore we make it our request to your majesty, which it is your majesty's interest in the first place to take care of, that no person whatever may dare to justify the wrongs done to your majesty's confederates by the contempt of your royal edicts. Nor can this cause be properly referred to the commissioners appointed for deciding common controversies on both sides ; since in this case not only the rights of confederates, but your authority itself, and the veneration due to the royal name, are chiefly in dispute. And it would be a wonder, that merchants should be more troubled for their losses, than your majesty provoked at encroachments upon your honour. Which while you disdain to brook, with the same labour you will demonstrate, that you neither repent of your friendly edicts in favour of our republic, nor connived at the injuries done by your subjects, nor neglected to give due respect to our demands.

Your majesty's most bounden by goodwill, by
friendship, and solemn league,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth, &c.

From our Court at Westminster, Nov. —, 1656.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., to the most Serene and Potent Prince, FREDERIC III. King of DENMARK, NORWAY, the VANDALS, and GOTHS; Duke of SLESWIC, HOLSATIA, STORMATIA, and DITHMARSH; Count in OLDENBURGH and DELMENHORST; &c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest
Friend and Confederate;

We received your majesty's letters dated the 16th of February, from Copenhagen, by the most worthy Simon de Pitkum, your majesty's agent here residing. Which when we had perused, the demonstrations of your majesty's goodwill towards us, and the importance of the matter concerning

which you write, affected us to that degree, that we designed forthwith to send to your majesty some person who, being furnished with ample instructions from us, might more at large declare to your majesty our counsels in that affair. And though we have still the same resolutions, yet hitherto we have not been at leisure to think of a person proper to be entrusted with those commands, which the weight of the matter requires; though in a short time we hope to be more at liberty. In the mean while we thought it not convenient any longer to delay the letting your majesty understand that the present condition of affairs in Europe has employed the greatest part of our care and thoughts; while for some years, to our great grief, we have beheld the protestant princes, and supreme magistrates of the reformed republics, (whom it rather behoves, as being engaged by the common tie of religion and safety, to combine and study all the ways imaginable conduced to mutual defence,) more and more at weakening variance among themselves, and jealous of each other's actions and designs; putting their friends in fear, their enemies in hope, that the posture of affairs bodes rather enmity and discord, than a firm agreement of mind to defend and assist each other. And this solicitude has fixed itself so much the deeper in our thoughts, in regard there seems to appear some sparks of jealousy between your majesty and the king of Sweden; at least, that there is not that conjunction of affections which our love and good will in general toward the orthodox religion so importunately requires: your majesty, perhaps, suspecting that the trade of your dominions will be prejudiced by the king of Sweden; and on the other side, the king of Sweden being jealous, that by your means the war which he now wages is made more difficult, and that you oppose him in his contracting those alliances which he seeks. It is not unknown to your majesty, so eminent for your profound wisdom, how great the danger is that threatens the protestant religion, should such suspicions long continue between two such potent monarchs; more especially, which God avert, if any symptom of hostility should break forth. However it be, for our parts, as we have earnestly exhorted the king of Sweden and the states of the United Provinces to peace and moderate counsels, and are beyond expression glad to behold peace and concord renewed between them, for that the heads of that league

are transmitted to us by their lordships the states-general,) so we thought it our duty, and chiefly becoming our friendship, not to conceal from your majesty what our sentiments are concerning these matters, (more especially being affectionately invited so to do by your majesty's most friendly letters, which we look upon and embrace as a most singular testimony of your good will towards us,) but to lay before your eyes how great a necessity Divine Providence has imposed upon us all that profess the protestant religion, to study peace among ourselves, and that chiefly at this time, when our most embittered enemies seem to have on every side conspired our destruction. There is no necessity of calling to remembrance the valleys of Piedmont, still besmeared with the blood and slaughter of the miserable inhabitants; nor Austria, tormented at the same time with the emperor's decrees and proscriptions; nor the impetuous onsets of the popish upon the protestant Switzers. Who can be ignorant, that the artifices and machinations of the Spaniards, for some years last past, have filled all these places with the confused and blended havoc of fire and sword? To which unfortunate pile of miseries, if once the reformed brethren should come to add their own dissension among themselves, and more especially two such potent monarchs, the chiefest part of our strength, and among whom so large a provision of the protestant security and puissance lies stored and hoarded up against times of danger, most certainly the interests of the protestants must go to ruin, and suffer a total and irrecoverable eclipse. On the other side, if peace continue firmly fixed between two such powerful neighbours, and the rest of the orthodox princes; if we would but make it our main study, to abide in brotherly concord, there would be no cause, by God's assistance, to fear neither the force nor the subtily of our enemies; all whose endeavours and laborious toils our union alone would be able to dissipate and frustrate. Nor do we question, but that your majesty, as you are freely willing, so your willingness will be constant in contributing your utmost assistance to procure his blessed peace. To which purpose we shall be most ready to communicate and join our counsels with your majesty; professing a real and cordial friendship, and not only determined inviolably to observe the amity so auspiciously contracted between us, but, as God shall enable us, to bind our preser-

alliance with a more strict and fraternal bond. In the meantime, the same eternal God grant all things prosperous and successful to your majesty.

Your majesty's most closely united by friendship,
alliance, and good will,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth of
England, &c.

From our Court at Whitchall, Dec. —, 1656.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene and Illustrious Prince and Lord, the
Lord WILLIAM, Landgrave of HESSE, Prince of HEREFELDT,
Count in CUTZENELLEBOGEN, Decia LIGENHAIN,
WIDDA, and SCHAUNBURG, &c.

Most Serene Prince,

WE had returned an answer to your letters sent us now near a twelvemonth since, for which we beg your highness's pardon, had not many, and those the most important affairs of the republic under our care, constrained us to this unwilling silence. For what letters could be more grateful to us than those which are written from a most religious prince, descended from religious ancestors, in order to settle the peace of religion, and the harmony of the church ? which letters attribute to us the same inclinations, the same zeal to promote the peace of Christendom, not only in your own but in the opinion and judgment of almost all the Christian world, and which we are most highly glad to find so universally ascribed to ourselves. And how far our endeavours have been signal formerly throughout these three kingdoms, and what we have effected by our exhortations, by our sufferings, by our conduct, but chiefly by divine assistance, the greatest part of our people both well know, and are sensible of, in a deep tranquillity of their consciences. The same peace we have wished to the churches of Germany, whose dissensions have been too sharp, and of too long endurance ; and by our agent Dury for many years in vain endeavouring the same reconciliation, we have cordially offered whatever might conduce on our part to the same purpose. We still persevere in the same determinations, and wish the same fraternal charity one among another to those churches. But how difficult a task it is to settle peace among

those sons of peace, as they give out themselves to be, to our extreme grief we more than abundantly understand. For that the reformed, and those of the Augustan confession, should cement together in a communion of one church, is hardly ever to be expected: it is impossible by force to prohibit either from defending their opinions, whether in private disputes, or by public writings; for force can never consist with ecclesiastical tranquillity. This only were to be wished, that they who differ would suffer themselves to be entreated, that they would disagree more civilly, and with more moderation; and notwithstanding their disputes, love one another; not embittered against each other as enemies, but as brethren dissenting only in trifles, though in the fundamentals of faith most cordially agreeing. With inculcating and persuading these things, we shall never be wearied; beyond that, there is nothing allowed to human force or counsels: God will accomplish his own work in his own time. In the mean while, you, most serene prince, have left behind you a noble testimony of your affection to the churches, an eternal monument becoming the virtue of your ancestors, and an exemplar worthy to be followed by all princes. It only then remains for us to implore the merciful and great God to crown your highness with all the prosperity in other things which you can wish for; but not to change your mind, than which you cannot have a better, since a better cannot be, nor more piously devoted to his glory.

Westminster, March —, 1656.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,*
to the most Serene Prince, the Duke of COURLAND.

Most Serene Prince,

WE have been abundantly satisfied of your affection to us, as well at other times, as when you kindly entertained our ambassador in his journey to the duke of Muscovy, for some days together making a stop in your territories: now we are no less confident, that your highness will give us no less obliging testimonies of your justice and equity, as well out of your own good nature, as at our request. For we are given to understand, that one John Johnson, a Scotsman, and master of a certain ship of yours, having faithfully discharged his duty for seven years together in the service of your high-

noss, as to your highness is well known, at length delivered the said ship, called the Whale, in the mouth of the river, according as the custom is, to one of your pilots, by him to be carried safe into harbour. But it so fell out, that the pilot, being ignorant of his duty, though frequently warned and admonished by the said Johnson, as he has proved by several witnesses, the said ship ran aground and split to pieces, not through any fault of the master, but through the want of skill, or obstinacy of the pilot. Which being so, we make it our earnest request to your highness, that neither the said shipwreck may be imputed to the forementioned Johnson the master, nor that he may upon that account be deprived of the wages due to him; by the only enjoyment of which, he having lately suffered another misfortune at sea, he hopes, however, to support and comfort himself in the extremity of his wants.

From our Court at Westminster, March —, 1657.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the Republic
of DANTZIC.**

Most Noble and Magnificent, our dearest Friends;

WE have always esteemed your city flourishing in industry, wealth, and studious care to promote all useful arts and sciences, fit to be compared with any the most noble cities of Europe. Now in regard that in this war, that has been long hovering about your confines, you have rather chosen to side with the Polanders, than with the Swedes; we are most heartily desirous, that for the sake of that religion which you embrace, and of your ancient commerce with the English, you would chiefly adhere to those counsels which may prove most agreeable to the glory of God, and the dignity and splendour of your city. Wherefore we entreat ye, for the sake of that friendship which has been long established between yourselves and the English nation, and if our reputation have obtained any favour or esteem among ye, to set at liberty Count Conismark, conspicuous among the principal of the Swedish captains, and a person singularly famed for his conduct in war, but by the treachery of his own people surprised at sea; wherein you will do no more than what the

laws of war, not yet exasperated to the height, allow ; or if you think this is not so agreeable to your interests, that you will, however, deem him worthy a more easy and less severe confinement. Which of these two favours soever you shall determine to grant us, you will certainly perform an act becoming the reputation of your city, and highly oblige besides the most famous warriors and most eminent captains of all parties : and lastly, lay upon ourselves an obligation not the meanest ; and perhaps it may be worth your interest to gratify us.

Your lordships' affectionate,

OLIVER, &c.

From our Court at Westminster, April —, 1656.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND and IRELAND, &c., to the most Serene and Potent Prince and Lord Emperor and Great Duke of all RUSSIA ; sole Lord of VOLODOMARIA, MOSCOW, and NOVOGRAGE ; King of CAZAN, ASTRACAN, and SIBERIA ; Lord of VOBSCOW, Great Duke of SMOLENSKO, TUERSCOY, and other places ; Lord and Great Duke of NOVOGROD, and the Lower Provinces of CHERNIGOY, REZANSKO, and others ; Lord of all the NORTHERN CLIMES ; also Lord of EVERSCO, CARTALINSCA, and many other places.*

ALL men know how ancient the friendship, and how vast the trade has been for a long train of years, between the English nation and the people of your empire : but that singular virtue, most august emperor, which in your majesty far outshines the glory of your ancestors, and the high opinion which all the neighbouring princes have of it, more especially moves us to pay a more than ordinary veneration and affection to your majesty, and to desire the imparting of some things to your consideration, which may conduce to the good of Christendom and your own interests. Wherefore, we have sent the most accomplished Richard Bradshaw, a person of whose fidelity, integrity, prudence, and experience in affairs, we are well assured, as having been employed by us in several other negotiations of this nature, under the character of our agent to your majesty ; to the end he may more at large make known to your majesty our singular goodwill and high respect toward so puissant a monarch, and transact with your majesty concerning the matters

abovementioned. Him therefore we request your majesty favourably to receive in our name, and as often as shall be requisite to grant him free access to your person, and no less gracious audience ; and lastly, to give the same credit to him in all things which he shall propose or negotiate, as to ourselves, if we were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your majesty and the Russian empire with all prosperity.

Your majesty's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of ENGLAND, &c.

From our Court at Westminster, April —, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTA-
VUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest
Friend and Confederate;

THE most honourable William Jepson, colonel of horse, and a senator in our parliament, who will have the honour to deliver these letters to your majesty, will make known to your majesty with what disturbance and grief of mind we received the news of the fatal war broke out between your majesty and the king of Denmark ; and how much it is our cordial and real endeavour, not to neglect any labour or duty of ours, as far as God enables us, that some speedy remedy may be applied to this growing mischief, and those calamities averted which of necessity this war will bring upon the common cause of religion ; more especially at this time, now that our adversaries unite their forces and pernicious counsels against the profession and professors of the orthodox faith. These and some other considerations of great importance to the benefit and public interest of both nations, have induced us to send this gentleman to your majesty, under the character of our extraordinary envoy, whom we therefore desire your majesty kindly to receive, and to give credit to him in all things which he shall have to impart to your majesty in our name ; as being a person in whose fidelity and prudence we very much confide. We also further request, That your majesty will be pleased fully to assure yourself of our goodwill and most undoubted zeal.

as well toward your majesty, as for the prosperity of your affairs. Of which we shall be readily prepared with all imaginable willingness of mind to give unquestionable testimonies upon all occasions.

Your majesty's friend, and most strictly
co-united confederate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Court at Westminster, August —, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, the Lord FREDERICK WIL-
LIAM, Marquis of BRANDENBURGH, High Chamberlain
of the Imperial Empire, and Prince Elector, Duke of
MAGDEBURG, PRUSSIA, JULIERS, CLEVES, MONTS, STET-
TIN, POMERANIA, of the CASSIUBIANS and VANDALS,
as also of SILESIA, CROSNA, and CARNOVIA, Burgrave of
NORRINBURG, Prince of HALBERSTADT and MINDA,
Count of MARK and RAVENSBERG, Lord in RAVENSTEIN.

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend
and Confederate;

SUCH is the fame of your highness's virtue and prudence both in peace and war, and so loudly spread, through all the world, that all the princes round about are ambitious of your friendship; nor does any one desire a more faithful or constant friend and associate: therefore to the end your highness may know, that we are also in the number of those that have the highest and most honourable thoughts of your person and merits, so well deserving of the commonwealth of Christendom, we have sent the most worthy colonel William Jepson, a senator in our parliament, in our name to kiss your highness's hands; and withal to wish the continuance of all prosperity to your affairs, and in words at large to express our good will and affection to your serenity; and therefore make it our request, that you will vouchsafe to give him credit in those matters concerning which he has instructions to treat with your highness, as if all things were attested and confirmed by our personal presence.

From our Court at Whitehall, August —, 1657.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the City of
HAMBOROUGH.**

Most Noble, most Magnificent, and Worthy,

THE most accomplished colonel William Jepson, a senator in our parliament, being sent by us to the most serene king of Sweden, is to travel through your city; and therefore we have given him in command, not to pass by your lordships unsaluted in our name; and withal to make it our request, that you will be ready to assist him upon whatsoever occasion he shall think it requisite to crave the aid of your authority and counsel. Which the more willingly you shall do, the more you shall find you have acquired our favour.

From our Court at Westminster, Aug. —, 1657.

**To the most Noble, the Consuls and Senators of the City of
BREME.**

How great our affection is toward your city, how particular our goodwill, as well upon the account of your religion, as for the celebrated splendour of your city, as formerly you have found; so when occasion offers, you shall be further sensible. At present, in regard the most accomplished colonel William Jepson, a senator in our parliament, is to travel through Bremen with the character of our envoy extraordinary to the king of Sweden, it is our pleasure that he salute your lordships lovingly and friendly in our name; and that if any accident fall out, wherein your assistance and friendship may be serviceable to him, that he may have free admission to desire it, upon the score of our alliance. Wherein we are confident you will the less be wanting, by how much the more reason you will have to be assured of our singular love and kindness for your lordships.

From our Court at Whitehall, Aug. —, 1657.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Noble the Senators and Consols of the City of
LUBECK.**

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful
our dearest Friends;

COLONEL WILLIAM JEPSON, a person of great honour, and a senator in our parliament, is to pass with the character of

a public minister, from your city to the king of Sweden, encamping not far from it. Wherefore we desire your lordships, that if occasion require, upon the account of the friendship and commerce between us, you will be assistant to him in his journey through your city, and the territories under your jurisdiction. As to what remains, it is our further pleasure, that you be saluted in our name, and that you be assured of our goodwill and ready inclinations to serve your lordships.

From our Court at Westminster, August —, 1657.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.
to the city of HAMBOROUGH.**

Most Noble, Magnificent, and Right Worshipful;

PHILIP MEADOWS, who brings these letters to your lordships, is to travel through your city with the character of our agent to the king of Denmark. Therefore, we most earnestly recommend him to your lordships, that if any occasion should happen for him to desire it, you would be ready to aid him with your authority and assistance: and we desire that this our recommendation may have the same weight at present with your lordships as formerly it wont to have; nor shall we be wanting to your lordships upon the same opportunities.

From our Court at Whitehall, August —, 1657.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, FREDERIC, Heir of NORWAY,
Duke of SLESWIC, HOLSATIA, and DITMARSH, Count
in OLDENBURGH and DELMENHORST.**

Most Serene Prince, our dearest Friend;

COLONEL WILLIAM JEPSON, a person truly noble in his country, and a senator in our parliament, is sent by us as our envoy extraordinary to the most serene king of Sweden; and may it prove happy and prosperous for the common peace and interests of Christendom! We have given him instructions among other things, that in his journey, after he has kissed your serenity's hands in our name, and declared our former goodwill and constant zeal for your welfare, to request of your serenity also, that being guarded with your authority, he may

travel with safety and convenience through your territories. By which kind act of civility, your highness will in a greater measure oblige us to returns of answerable kindness.

From our Court at Westminster, August —, 1657.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, FERDINAND, Great Duke of
TUSCANY.**

Most Serene great Duke, our dearest Friend ;

THE company of our merchants trading to the eastern coast of the Mediterranean sea, by their petition to us, have set forth, that William Ellis, master of a ship called the Little Lewis, being at Alexandria in Egypt, was hired by the Basha of Memphis, to carry rice, sugar, and coffee, either to Constantinople or Smyrna, for the use of the Grand Seignior; but that contrary to his faith and promise given, he bore away privately from the Ottoman fleet, and brought his ship and lading to Leghorn, where now he lives in possession of his prey. Which villainous act being of dangerous example, as exposing the Christian name to scandal, and the fortunes of our merchants living under the Turks to violence and ransack ; we therefore make it our request to your highness, that you will give command, that the said master be apprehended and imprisoned, and that the vessel and goods may remain under seizure, till we shall have given notice of our care for the restitution of those goods to the sultan : assuring your highness of our readiness to make suitable returns of gratitude whenever opportunity presents itself.

Your highness's most affectionate,

**OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.**

From our Court at Westminster, September —, 1657.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, the Lord FREDERIC-WILLIAM,
Marquis of BRANDENBURGH, &c.**

Most Serene Prince, our most dear Friend
and Confederate ;

By our last letters to your highness, either already or shortly to be delivered by our ambassador William Jepson,

we have imparted the substance of our embassy to your highness ; which we could not do without some mention of your great virtues, and demonstration of our own goodwill and affection. Nevertheless, that we may not seem too superficially to have gilded over your transcending deservings of the protestant interests ; we thought it proper to resume the same subject, and pay our respect and veneration, not more willingly, or with a greater fervency of mind, but somewhat more at large to your highness : and truly most deservedly, when daily information reaches our ears, that your faith and conscience, by all manner of artifices tempted and assailed, by all manner of arts and devices solicited, yet cannot be shaken, or by any violence be rent from your friendship and alliance with a most magnanimous prince and your confederate : and this, when the affairs of the Swedes are now reduced to that condition, that in adhering to their alliance, it is manifest, that your highness rather consults the common cause of the reformed religion, than your own advantage. And when your highness is almost surrounded and besieged by enemies, either privately lurking, or almost at your gates ; yet such is your constancy and resolution of mind, such your conduct and prowess, becoming a great general, that the burden and massy bulk of the whole affair, and the event of this important war, seems to rest and depend upon your sole determination. Wherefore your highness has no reason to question, but that you may rely upon our friendship and unfeigned affection ; who should think ourselves worthy to be forsaken of all men's good word, should we seem careless in the least of your unblemished fidelity, your constancy, and the rest of your applauded virtues ; or should we pay less respect to your highness upon the common score of religion. As to those matters propounded by the most accomplished John Frederic Schlever, your counsellor and agent here residing, if hitherto we could not return an answer, such as we desired to do, though with all assiduity and diligence laboured by your agent ; we entreat your highness to impute it to the present condition of our affairs, and to be assured that there is nothing which we account more sacred, or more earnestly desire, than to be serviceable and assisting to your interests, so bound up with the cause of religion. In the mean time we beseech the God of mercy and power, that so signal a

prowess and fortitude may never languish or be oppressed, nor be deprived the fruit and due applause of all your pious undertakings.

Your highness's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Court at Westminster, September —, 1657.

To the most Excellent Lord, M. DE BORDEAUX, Extra-ordinary Ambassador from the most Serene King of FRANCE.

Most Excellent Lord,

LUCAS LUCIE, merchant of London, has made his complaint to the most serene lord protector, concerning a certain ship of his, called the Mary ; which in her voyage from Ireland to Bayonne, being driven by tempest into the port of St. John de Luz, was there detained by virtue of an arrest, at the suit of one Martin de Lazan : nor could she be discharged till the merchants had given security to stand a trial for the property of the said ship and lading. For Martin pretended to have a great sum of money owing to him by the parliament for several goods of his, which in the year 1642 were seized by authority of parliament, in a certain ship called the Sancta Clara. But it is manifest that Martin was not the owner of the said goods, only that he prosecuted the claim of the true owner Richald and Iriat, together with his partner, whose name was Antonio Fernandez ; and that upon the said Martin and Antonio's falling out among themselves, the parliament decreed that the said goods should be stopped till the law should decide to which of the two they were to be restored. Upon this, Anthony was desirous that the action should proceed ; on the other side, neither Martin, nor any body for him, has hitherto appeared in court : all which is evidently apparent by Lucas's petition hitherto annexed. So that it seems most unreasonable, that he who refused to try his pretended title with Antonia to other men's goods, in our own courts, should compel our people, and the true owners, to go to law for their own in a foreign dominion. And that the same is apparent to your excellency's equity and prudence, the most serene lord protector makes no question ; by whom

I am therefore commanded in a particular manner to recommend this fair and honest cause of Lucas Lucie to your excellency's consideration ; to the end that Martin, who neglects to try his pretended right here, may not under that pretence have an opportunity in the French dominions to deprive others of their rightful claims.

Your excellency's most affectionate.

Westminster, October —, 1657.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.
to the most Serene Duke and Senate of the Republic of
VENICE.**

Most Serene Duke and Senate,
our dearest Friends ;

So numerous are the tidings brought us from your fortunate successes against the Turks, that there is nothing wherein we have more frequent occasion to employ our pens than in congratulating your serenities for some signal victory. For this so recently obtained, we give ye joy, as being not only most auspicious and seasonable to your republic ; but, which is more glorious, so greatly tending to the deliverance of all the Christians groaning under Turkish servitude. More particularly we recommend to your serenity and the senate Thomas Galily, formerly master of the ship called the Relief, who for these five years together has been a slave ; though this be not the first time we have interceded in his behalf, yet now we do it the more freely, as in a time of more than ordinary exultation. He having received your commands, to serve your republic with his ship, and engaging alone with several of the enemies' galleys, sunk some, and made a great havoc among the rest : but at length his ship being burnt, the brave commander, and so well deserving of the Venetian republic, was taken, and ever since for five years together has endured a miserable bondage among the barbarians. To redeem himself he had not wherewithal ; for whatsoever he had, that he makes out was owing to him by your highness and the senate, upon the account either of his ship, his goods, or for his wages. Now in regard he may not want relief, and for that the enemy refuses to discharge him upon any other condition than by exchange of some other person of equal value and reputation

to himself; we most earnestly entreat your highness, and the most serene senate; and the afflicted old man, father of the said Thomas, full of grief and tears, which not a little moved us, by our intercession begs, that in regard so many prosperous combats have made ye masters of so many Turkish prisoners, you will exchange some one of their number, whom the enemy will accept for so stout a seaman taken in your service, our countryman, and the only son of a most sorrowful father. Lastly, that whatsoever is due to him from the republic, upon the score of wages, or upon any other account, you will take care to see it paid to his father, or to whom he shall appoint to receive it. The effect of our first request, or rather of your equity, was this, that the whole matter was examined, and upon an exact stating of the accounts the debt was agreed; but perhaps by reason of more important business intervening, no payment ensued upon it. Now the condition of the miserable creature admits of no longer delay; and therefore some endeavour must be used, if it be worth your while to desire his welfare, that he may speedily be delivered from the noisome stench of imprisonment. Which, as you flourish no less in justice, moderation, and prudence, than in military fame and victorious success, we are confident you will see done, of your own innate humanity and freewill, without any hesitation, without any incitement of ours. Now that you may long flourish, after a most potent enemy subdued, our daily prayers implore of the Almighty.

Your highness's most affectionate,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Court at Westminster October —, 1657.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the High and Mighty Lords the States of the UNITED
PROVINCES.

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest
Friends and Confederates;

THE most illustrious William Nuport, your extraordinary ambassador for some years residing with us, is now returning to your lordships; but with this condition, that after this respite obtained from your lordships, he shall return again in a

short time. For he has remained among us, in the discharge of his trust, with that fidelity, vigilance, prudence, and equity, that neither you nor we could desire greater virtue and probity in an ambassador, and a person of unblemished reputation; with those inclinations and endeavours to preserve peace and friendship between us, without any fraud or dissimulation, that while he officiates the duty of your ambassador, we do not find what occasion of scruple or offence can arise in either nation. And we should brook his departure with so much the more anxiety of mind, considering the present juncture of times and affairs, were we not assured, that no man can better or more faithfully declare and represent to your lordships, either the present condition of affairs, or our goodwill and affection to your government. Being therefore every way so excellent a person, and so very deserving both of yours and our republic, we request your lordships to receive him returning, such as we unwillingly dismiss him, laden with the real testimonials of our applauses. Almighty God grant all prosperity to your affairs, and perpetuate our friendship, to his glory, and the support of his orthodox church.

Your high and mightinesses' most devoted.

From our Court at Westminster, Nov. —, 1657.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND. &c.,
to the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED
PROVINCES.**

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest
Friends and Confederates;

GEORGE DOWNING is a person of eminent quality, and, after a long trial of his fidelity, probity, and diligence, in several and various negotiations, well approved and valued by us. Him we have thought fitting to send to your lordships, dignified with the character of our agent, and amply furnished with our instructions. We therefore desire your lordships to receive him kindly; and that so often as he shall signify that he has anything to impart in our name to your lordships, you will admit him free audience, and give the same credit to him, and entrust him with whatsoever you have to communicate to us, which you may safely do; as if ourselves were personally present. And so we beseech Almighty God to bless your

lordships and your republic with all prosperity, to the glory of God and the support of his church.

Your high and mightinesses' most affectionate,
OLIVER, &c

From our Court at Whitehall, December —, 1657.

To the States of HOLLAND.

THERE being an alliance between our republic and yours, and those affairs to be transacted on both sides that without an agent and interpreter, sent either by yourselves, or from us, matters of such great moment can hardly be adjusted to the advantage of both nations, we thought it conducing to the common good of both republies to send George Downing, a person of eminent quality, and long in our knowledge and esteem for his undoubted fidelity, probity, and diligence, in many and various negotiations, dignified with the character of our agent, to reside with your lordships, and chiefly to take care of those things by which the peace between us may be preserved entire and diurnal. Concerning which we have not only written to the States, but also thought it requisite to give notice also of the same to your lordships, supreme in the government of your province, and who make so considerable a part of the United Provincees; to the end you may give that reception to our resident which becomes him, and that whatever he transacts with your high and mighty States, you may assure yourselves, shall be as firm and irrevocable, as if ourselves had been present in the negotiation. Now the most merciful God direct all your counsels and actions to his glory, and the peace of his church !

Westminster, Dec. —, 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., to the most Serene Prince, FERDINAND, Great Duke of TUSCANY.*

Most Serene Great Duke, our much honoured Friend,

YOUR highness's letters, bearing date from Florence the 10th of November, gave us no small occasion of content and satisfaction; finding therein your goodwill towards us, so much the more conspicuous, by how much deeds than words,

performances than promises, are the more certain marks of a cordial affection. For what we requested of your highness, that you would command the master of the Little Lewis, William Ellis, (who most ignominiously broke his faith with the Turks,) and the ship and goods to be seized and detained, till restitution should be made to the Turks, lest the Christian name should receive any blemish by thieveries of the like nature: all those things, and that too with an extraordinary zeal, as we most gladly understood before, your highness writes that you have seen diligently performed. We therefore return our thanks for the kindness received, and make it our further request, that when the merchants have given security to satisfy the Turks, the master may be discharged, and the ship, together with her lading, be forthwith dismissed, to the end we may not seem to have had more care perhaps of the Turks' interest, than our own countrymen. In the mean time, we take so kindly this surpassing favour done us by your highness, and most acceptable to us, that we should not refuse to be branded with ingratitude, if we should not ardently desire a speedy opportunity, with the same promptitude of mind, to gratify your highness, whereby we might be enabled to demonstrate our readiness to return the same good offices to so noble a benefactor upon all occasions

Your highness's most affectionate,
OLIVER, &c.

From our Court at Westminster, December —, 1657.

OLIVER, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS
King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.*

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most
Invincible Friend and Confederate;

By your majesty's letters, dated the 21st of February from your camp in Seland, we found many reasons to be affected with no small joy, as well for our own particular, as in regard of the whole Christian republic in general. In the first place, because the king of Denmark, being become an enemy, not induced thereto, as we are apt to believe, by his own inclinations or interests, but deluded by the artifices of our common adversaries, is reduced to that condition by your sudden crucifixion into the very heart of his kingdom, with very little blood-

shed on either side, that, what was really true, he will at length be persuaded, that peace would have been more beneficial to him than the war which he has entered into against your majesty. Then again, when he shall consider with himself, that he cannot obtain it by any more speedy means, than by making use of our assistance, long since offered him to procure a reconciliation, in regard your majesty so readily entreated by the letters only delivered by our agent, by such an easy concession of peace, most clearly made it apparent how highly you esteemed the intercession of our friendship, he will certainly apply himself to us; and then our interposition in so pious a work will chiefly require, that we should be the sole reconciler and almost author of that peace, so beneficial to the interests of the protestants; which, as we hope, will suddenly be accomplished. For when the enemies of religion shall despair of breaking your united forces by any other means than setting both your majesties at variance, then their own fears will overtake them, lest this unexpected conjunction, which we ardently desire, of your arms and minds, should turn to the destruction of them that were the kindlers of the war. In the mean time, most magnanimous king, may your prowess go on and prosper; and the same felicity which the enemies of the church have admired in the progress of your achievements, and the steady career of your victories against a prince now your confederate, the same by God's assistance, may you enforce them to behold once more in their subversion!

From our Palace at Westminster, March 30, 1658.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene Prince, FERDINAND, Great Duke of
TUSCANY.**

Most Serene Prince,

THE answer which we have given to your agent here residing, we believe, will fully satisfy your highness as to our admiral, who but lately put into your ports. In the mean time, John Hosier, master of a ship called the Owner, has set forth in a petition to us, that in April, 1656, he hired out his ship by a charter-party agreement, to one Joseph Arman, an Italian, who manifestly broke all the covenants therein contained; so that he was enforced, lest he should lose his ship

and lading, together with his whole principal stock, openly to set forth the fraud of his freighter, after the manner of merchants; and when he had caused it to be registered by a public notary, to sue him at Leghorn. Joseph, on the other side, that he might make good one fraud by another, combining with two other litigious traders, upon a feigned pretence, by perjury, seized upon six thousand pieces of eight, the money of one Thomas Clutterbuck. But as for his part, the said Hosier, after great expenses and loss of time, could never obtain his right and due at Leghorn: nor durst he there appear in court, being threatened as he was, and waylaid by his adversaries. We therefore request your highness, that you would vouchsafe your assistance to this poor oppressed man, and according to your wonted justice, restrain the insolence of his adversary. For in vain are laws ordained for the government of cities by the authority of princes, if wrong and violence, when they cannot abrogate, shall be able by threats and terror to frustrate the refuge and sanctuary of the laws. However, we make no doubt, but that your highness will speedily take care to punish a daring boldness of this nature; beseeching Almighty God to bless your highness with peace and prosperity.

From our Court at Westminster, April 7, 1658.

To the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Most Serene and Potent King, and most
August Friend and Confederate;

YOUR majesty may call to mind that, at the same time, when the renewing the league between us was in agitation, and no less auspiciously concluded, as the many advantages from thence accruing to both nations, and the many annoyances thence attending the common enemy, sufficiently testify; those dreadful butcheries befell the Piedmontois, and that we recommended, with great fervency of mind and compassion, their cause, on all sides forsaken and afflicted, to your commiseration and protection. Nor do we believe that your majesty of yourself was wanting in a duty so pious, that we may not say, beseeming common humanity, as far as your authority, and the veneration due to your person, could prevail with the duke of Savoy. Certain we are that neither

ourselves, nor many other princes and cities, were wanting in our performances, by the interposition of embassies, letters, and entreaties. After a most bloody butchery of both sexes, and all ages, at length peace was granted, or rather a certain clandestine hostility covered over with the name of peace. The conditions of peace were agreed in your town of Pignerol ; severe and hard, but such as those miserable and indigent creatures, after they had suffered all that could be endured that was oppressive and barbarous, would have been glad of, had they been but observed, as hard and unjust as they were. But by false constructions, and various evasions, the assurances of all these articles are eluded and violated ; many are thrust out from their ancient abodes ; many are forbid the exercise of their religion, new tributes are exacted, a new citadel is imposed upon them ; from whence the soldiers frequently making excursions, either plunder or murder all they meet. Add to all this, that new levies are privately preparing against them, and all that embrace the protestant religion are commanded to depart by a prefixed day ; so that all things seem to threaten the utter extirmination of those deplorable wretches, whom the former massacre spared. Which I most earnestly beseech and conjure ye, most Christian king, by that **RIGHT HAND** which signed the league and friendship between us, by that same goodly ornament of your title of **Most CHRISTIAN**, by no means to suffer, nor to permit such liberty of rage and fury uncontrolled, we will not say, in any prince, (for certainly such barbarous severity could never enter the breast of any prince, much less so tender in years, nor into the female thoughts of his mother,) but in those sanctified cut-throats, who, professing themselves to be the servants and disciples of our Saviour Christ, who came into the world to save sinners, abuse his meek and peaceful name and precepts to the most cruel slaughter of the innocent. Rescue, you that are able in your towering station, worthy to be able, rescue so many suppliants prostrate at your feet, from the hands of ruffians, who, lately drunk with blood, again thirst after it, and think it their safest way to throw the odium of their cruelty upon princes. But as for you, great prince, suffer not, while you reign, your titles, nor the confines of your kingdom, to be contaminated with this same Heaven-offending scandal, nor the peaceful gospel of Christ to be de-

filed with such abominable cruelty. Remember, that they submitted themselves to your grandfather Henry, most friendly to the protestants, when the victorious Lesdiguières pursued the retreating Savoyard over the Alps. There is also an instrument of that submission registered among the public acts of your kingdom, wherein it is excepted and provided among other things that, from that time forward, the Piedmontois should not be delivered over into the power of any ruler, but upon the same condition upon which your invincible grandfather received them into his protection. This protection of your grandfather these suppliants now implore from you as grandchild. It is your majesty's part, to whom those people now belong, to give them that protection which they have chosen, by some exchange of habitation, if they desire it, and it may be done: or if that be a labour too difficult, at least to succour them with your patronage, your commiseration, and your admittance into sanctuary. And there are some reasons of state to encourage your majesty not to refuse the Piedmontois a safe asylum in your kingdom: but I am unwilling that you, so great a king, should be induced to the defence and succour of the miserable by any other arguments than those of your ancestor's pledged faith, your own piety, royal benignity, and magnanimity. Thus the immaculate and entire glory of a most egregious act will be your own, and you will find the Father of mercy, and his Son, King Christ, whose name and doctrine you have vindicated from nefarious inhumanity, so much the more favourable and propitious to your majesty, all your days. The God of mercy and power infuse into your majesty's heart a resolution to defend and save so many innocent Christians, and maintain your own honour.

Westminster, May —, 1658.

To the Evangelic Cities of the SWITZERS.

Illustrious and most noble Lords, our dearest Friends;

How heavy and intolerable the sufferings of the Piedmontois, your most afflicted neighbours, have been, and how unmercifully they have been dealt with by their own prince, for the sake of their religion, by reason of the fellness of the cruelties, we almost tremble to remember, and thought it superfluous to put you in mind of those things which are much

better known to your lordships. We have also seen copies of the letters which your ambassadors, promoters, and witnesses of the peace concluded at Pignerol, wrote to the duke of Savoy, and the president of his council at Turin; wherein they set forth, and make it out, that all the conditions of the said peace are broken, and were rather a snare than a security to those miserable people. Which violation continued from the conclusion of the peace till this very moment, and still growing more heavy every day than other; unless they patiently endure, unless they lay themselves down to be trampled under foot, plashed like mortar, or abjure their religion, the same calamities, the same slaughters hang over their heads, which three years since made such a dreadful havoc of them, their wives, and children; and which, if it must be undergone once more, will certainly prove the utter extirpation of their whole race. What shall such miserable creatures do, in whose behalf no intercession will avail, to whom no breathing-time is allowed, nor any certain place of refuge? They have to do with wild beasts, or furies rather, upon whom the remembrance of their former murders has wrought no compassion upon their countrymen, no sense of humanity, nor satiated their ravenous thirst after blood. Most certainly these things are not to be endured, if we desire the safety of our brethren the Piedmontois, most ancient professors of the orthodox faith, or the welfare of our religion itself. As for ourselves so far remote, we have not been wanting to assist them as far as in us lay, nor shall we cease our future aid. But you, who not only lie so near adjoining, as to behold the butcheries, and to hear the outries and shrieks of the distressed, but are also next exposed to the fury of the same enemies; consider for the sake of the immortal God, and that in time, what it behoves ye now to do: consult your prudence, your piety, and your fortitude; what succour, what relief and safeguard you are able, and are bound to afford your neighbours and brethren, who must else undoubtedly and speedily perish. Certainly the same religion is the cause why the same enemies also seek your perdition; why, at the same time the last year, they meditated your ruin by intestine broils among yourselves. It seems to be only in your power, next under God, to prevent the extirpation of this most ancient scion of the purer religion, in those remainders of the primi-

tive believers ; whose preservation, now reduced to the very brink of utter ruin, if you neglect, beware that the next turn be not your own. These admonitions, while we give ye freely, and out of brotherly love, we are not quite as yet cast down for what lies only in our power so far distant, as we have hitherto, so shall we still employ our utmost endeavours, not only to procure the safety of our brethren upon the precipice of danger, but also to relieve their wants. May the Almighty God vouchsafe to both of us that peace and tranquillity at home, that settlement of times and affairs, that we may be able to employ all our wealth and force, all our studies and counsels in the defence of his church against the rage and fury of her enemies.

From our Court at Whitehall, May —, 1658.

To his Eminency Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

THE late most grievous cruelties, and most bloody slaughters perpetrated upon the inhabitants of the valleys of Piedmont, within the duke of Savoy's dominions, occasioned the writing of the enclosed letters to his majesty, and these other to your eminency. And as we make no doubt but that such tyranny and inhumanities, so rigorously inflicted upon harmless and indigent people, are highly displeasing and offensive to the most serene king; so we readily persuade ourselves, that what we request from his majesty in behalf of those unfortunate creatures, your eminency will employ your endeavour and your favour to obtain, as an accumulation to our intercessions : seeing there is nothing which has acquired more goodwill and affection to the French nation, among all the neighbouring professors of the reformed religion, than that liberty and those privileges, which by public acts and edicts are granted in that kingdom to the protestants. And this among others was one main reason why this republic so ardently desired the friendship and alliance of the French people. For the settling of which we are now treating with the king's ambassador, and have made those progresses, that the treaty is almost brought to a conclusion. Besides that, your eminency's singular benignity and moderation, which in the management of the most important affairs of the kingdom

you have always testified to the protestants of France, encourages us to expect what we promise to ourselves from your prudence and generosity ; whereby you will not only lay the foundation of a stricter alliance between this republic and the kingdom of France, but oblige us in particular to returns of all good offices of civility and kindness : and of this we desire your eminency to rest assured.

Your eminency's most affectionate.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., to the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.

Most Serene and Mighty King, our most
August Friend and Confederate;

IT being the intention of Thomas viscount Falconbridge, our son-in-law, to travel into France, and no less his desire, out of his profound respect and veneration to your majesty, to be admitted to kiss your royal hands ; though by reason of his pleasing conversation we are unwilling to part with him, nevertheless, not doubting but he will in a short time return from the court of so great a prince, celebrated for the resort of so many prudent and courageous persons, more nobly prepared for great performances, and fully accomplished in whatsoever may be thought most laudable and virtuous, we did not think it fit to put a stop to his generous resolutions. And though he be a person who, unless we deceive ourselves, carries his own recommendations about him, wheresoever he goes ; yet if he shall find himself somewhat the more favoured by your majesty for our sake, we shall think ourselves honoured and obliged by the same kindness. God Almighty long preserve your majesty in safety, and continue a lasting peace between us, to the common good of the Christian world.

From our Court at Whitehall, May —, 1658.

OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., to the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING recommended to the most serene king Thomas viscount Falconbridge, our son-in-law, desirous to see France ; we could not but acquaint your eminency with it, and re-

commend him in like manner to yourself, not ignorant of what moment and importance it will be to our recommendation first given him. For certainly, what benefit or advantage he shall reap by residing in your country, which he hopes will not be small, he cannot but be beholden for the greatest part of it to your favour and goodwill; whose single prudence and vigilancy supports and manages the grand affairs of that kingdom. Whatever therefore grateful obligation your eminency shall lay upon him, you may be assured you lay upon ourselves, and that we shall number it among your many kindnesses and civilities already shown us.

Westminster, May —, 1658.

**OLIVER, Protector, &c., to the Most Eminent Lord,
Cardinal MAZARINE.**

Most Eminent Lord,

HAVING sent the most illustrious Thomas Bellasis, viscount Falconbridge, our son-in-law, to congratulate the king upon his arrival in the camp at Dunkirk; I gave him order to attend and wish your eminency long life and health in our name, and to return thanks to your eminency, by whose fidelity, prudence, and vigilancy, it chiefly comes to pass, that the affairs of France are carried on with such success in several parts, but more especially in near adjoining Flanders, against our common enemy the Spaniard; from whom we hope that open and armed courage now will soon exact a rigorous account of all his frauds and treacheries. Which that it may be speedily done, we shall not be wanting, either with our forces, as far as in us lies, or with our prayers to Heaven

From our Court at Whitehall, May —, 1658.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of
FRANCE.**

**Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most
August Friend and Confederate;**

So soon as the news was brought us, that your majesty was arrived in your camp, and was sat down with so considerable an army before Dunkirk, that infamous nest of pi-

rates, and place of refuge for sea-robbers, we were greatly overjoyed, in certain assurance that in a short time now, with God's assistance, the seas will be more open and less infested by those plundering rovers; and that your majesty, by your military prowess, will now take speedy vengeance of the Spanish frauds; by whom one captain was by gold corrupted to the betraying of Hesden, another treacherously surprised at Ostend. We therefore send the most noble Thomas viscount Falconbridge, our son-in-law, to congratulate your majesty's arrival in your camp so near us, and that your majesty may understand from his own lips with what affection we labour the prosperity of your achievements, not only with our united forces, but our cordial prayers, that God would long preserve your majesty, and perpetuate our established friendship, to the common good of the Christian world.

From our Court at Westminster, May —, 1658.

To the most Serene Prince, FERDINAND, Grand Duke of TUSCANY.

Most Serene Great Duke,

In regard your highness in your letters has ever signified your extraordinary affection toward us, we are not a little grieved, that either it should be so obscurely imparted to your governors and ministers, or by them so ill interpreted, that we can reap no benefit or sign of it in your port of Leghorn, where your friendship towards us ought to be most clearly and truly understood: rather, that we should find the minds of your subjects daily more averse and hostile in their demeanour toward us. For how unkindly our fleet was lately treated at Leghorn, how little accommodated with necessary supplies, in what a hostile manner twice constrained to depart the harbour, we are sufficiently given to understand, as well from undoubted witnesses upon the place, as from our admiral himself, to whose relation we cannot but give credit, when we have thought him worthy to command our fleet. Upon his first arrival in January, after he had caused our letters to be delivered to your highness, and all offices of civility had passed between our people and yours; when he desired the accommodation of Porto Ferraro, answer was made, it could not be granted, lest the king of Spain, that is to say,

our enemy, should be offended. And yet what is there which a prince in friendship more frequently allows to his confederate, than free entrance into his ports and harbours ? Or what is there that we can expect from a friendship of this nature, more ready to do us unkindness than befriend us, or aid us with the smallest assistance, for fear of provoking the displeasure of our enemies ? At first indeed, prattic was allowed, though only to two or three of our seamen out of every ship, who had the favour to go ashore. But soon after, it being noised in the town, that our ships had taken a Dutch vessel laden with corn for Spain, that little prattic we had was prohibited ; Longland the English consul was not permitted to go aboard the fleet ; the liberty of taking in fresh water, which is ever free to all that are not open enemies, was not suffered, but under armed guards, at a severe rate ; and our merchants, which reside in the town to the vast emolumtment of your people, were forbid to visit their countrymen, or assist them in the least. Upon his last arrival, toward the latter end of March, nobody was suffered to come ashore. The fifth day after, when our admiral had taken a small Neapolitan vessel, which fell into our hands by chance, above two hundred great shot were made at our fleet from the town, though without any damage to us. Which was an argument, that what provoked your governors without a cause, as if the rights of your harbour had been violated, was done out at sea, at a great distance from your town, or the jurisdiction of your castle. Presently our long-boats, sent to take in fresh water, were assailed in the port, and one taken and detained ; which being redemanded, answer was made, that neither the skiff nor the seamen should be restored, unless the Neapolitan vessel were dismissed ; though certain it is, that she was taken in the open sea, where it was lawful to seize her. So that ours, after many inconveniences suffered, were forced at length to set sail, and leave behind them the provision, for which they had paid ready money. These things, if they were not done by your highness's consent and command, as we hope they were not, we desire you would make it appear by the punishment of the governor, who so easily presumed to violate his master's alliances ; but if they were done with your highness's approbation and order, we would have your highness understand, that as we always had a singular value

for your friendship, so we have learnt to distinguish between injuries and acts of kindness.

Your good friend, so far as we may,
OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England, &c.

From our Court at Whitehall, May —, 1658.

*OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.
to the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of
FRANCE.*

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most
August Confederate and Friend ;

By so speedily repaying our profound respect to your majesty, with an accumulation of honour, by such an illustrious embassy to our court, you have not only made known to us, but to all the people of England, your singular benignity and generosity of mind, but also how much you favour our reputation and dignity : for which we return our most cordial thanks to your majesty, as justly you have merited from us. As for the victory which God has given, most fortunate, to our united forces against our enemies, we rejoice with your majesty for it ; and that our people in that battle were not wanting to your assistance, nor the military glory of their ancestors, nor their own pristine fortitude, is most grateful to us. As for Dunkirk, which, as your majesty wrote, you were in hopes was near surrender ; it is a great addition to our joy, to hear from your majesty such speedy tidings, that it is absolutely now in your victorious hands ; and we hope, moreover, that the loss of one city will not suffice to repay the twofold treachery of the Spaniard, but that your majesty will in a short time write us the welcome news of the surrender also of the other town. As to your promise, that you will take care of our interest, we mistrust it not in the least, upon the word of a most excellent king, and our most assured friend, confirmed withal by your ambassador, the most accomplished duke of Crequi. Lastly, we beseech Almighty God to prosper your majesty and the affairs of France, both in peace and war.

Westminster, June —, 1658.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE**

Most Eminent Lord,

WHILE we are returning thanks to the most serene king, who to honour and congratulate us, as also to intermix his joy with ours for the late glorious victory, has sent a splendid embassy to our court, we should be ungrateful, should we not also by our letters pay our due acknowledgments to your eminency; who, to testify your goodwill towards us, and how much you make it your study to do us all the honour which lies within your power, have sent your nephew to us, a most excellent and most accomplished young gentleman; and if you had any nearer relation, or any person whom you valued more, would have sent him more especially to us, as you declare in your letters; adding withal the reason, which, coming from so great a personage, we deem no small advantage to our praise and ornament; that is to say, to the end that they, who are most nearly related to your eminency in blood, might learn to imitate your eminency in shewing respect and honour to our person. And we would have it not to be their meanest strife to follow your example of civility, candour, and friendship to us; since there are not more conspicuous examples of extraordinary prudence and virtue to be imitated than in your eminency; from whence they may learn with equal renown to govern kingdoms, and manage the most important affairs of the world. Which that your eminency may long and happily administer, to the prosperity of the whole realm of France, to the common good of the whole Christian republic, and your own glory, we shall never be wanting in our prayers to implore.

Your excellency's most affectionate.

From our Court at Whitehall, June —, 1658.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUS-
TAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS &c.**

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our dearest
Confederate and Friend;

As often as we behold the busy counsels, and various arti-
fices of the common enemies of religion, so often do we revolve

in our minds how necessary it would be, and how much for the safety of the Christian world, that the protestant princes, and most especially your majesty, should be united with our republic in a most strict and solemn confederacy. Which how ardently and zealously it has been sought by ourselves, how acceptable it would have been to us, if ours, and the affairs of Swedeland, had been in that posture and condition, if the said league could have been sacredly concluded to the good liking of both, and that the one could have been a seasonable succour to the other, we declared to your ambassadors, when first they entered into treaty with us upon this subject. Nor were they wanting in their duty ; but the same prudence which they were wont to shew in other things, the same wisdom and sedulity they made known in this affair. But such was the perfidiousness of our wicked and restless countrymen at home, who, being often received into our protection, ceased not, however, to machinate new disturbances, and to resume their formerly often frustrated and dissipated conspiracies with our enemies the Spaniards, that being altogether taken up with the preservation of ourselves from surrounding dangers, we could not bend our whole care, and our entire forces, as we wished we could have done, to defend the common cause of religion. Nevertheless what lay in our power we have already zealously performed ; and whatever for the future may conduce to your majesty's interests, we shall not only shew ourselves willing, but industrious to carry on, in union with your majesty, upon all occasions. In the mean time we most gladly congratulate your majesty's victories, most prudently and courageously achieved, and in our daily prayers implore Almighty God long to continue to your majesty a steady course of conquest and felicity, to the glory of his name.

From our Court at Whitehall, June —, 1658.

**OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.
to the most Serene Prince, the King of PORTUGAL.**

**Most Serene King, our Friend
and Confederate ;**

JOHN BUFFIELD, of London, merchant, has set forth in a petition to us, that in the year 1649 he delivered certain goods to Anthony, John, and Manuel Ferdinando Castaneo, merchants

in Tamira, to the end that after they had sold them they ~~might~~ give him a just account, according to the custom of merchants: after which, in his voyage for England, he fell into the hands of pirates; and being plundered by them, received no small damage. Upon this news, Anthony and Manuel, believing he had been killed, presently looked upon the goods as their own, and still detain them in their hands, refusing to come to any account; covering this fraud of theirs with a sequestration of English goods, that soon after ensued. So that he was forced the last year, in the middle of winter, to return to Portugal and demand his goods, but all in vain. For that the said John and Anthony could by no fair means be persuaded, either to deliver the said goods or come to any account; and which is more to be admired, justified their private detention of the goods by the public attainer. Finding therefore that, being a stranger, he should get nothing by contending with the inhabitants of Tamira in their own country, he betook himself for justice to your majesty: humbly demanded the judgment of the conservator appointed to determine the causes of the English; but was sent back to the cognizances of that court from which he had appealed. Which though in itself not unjust, yet seeing it is evident, that the merchants of Tamira make an ill use of your public edict to justify their own private cozenage, we make it our earnest request to your majesty, that according to your wonted clemency you would rather refer to the conservator, being the proper judge in these cases, the cause of this poor man afflicted by many casualties, and reduced to utmost poverty; to the end he may recover the remainder of his fortunes from the faithless partnership of those people. Which when you rightly understand the business, we make no question, but will be no less pleasing to your majesty to see done, than to ourselves.

From our Court at Westminster, Aug. —, 1658.

*To the most Serene Prince LEOPOLD, Archduke of AUSTRIA,
Governor of the Low Countries under PHILIP King of
SPAIN.*

Most Serene Lord,

CHARLES HARBORD, knight, has set forth in his petition to us, that having sent certain goods and household stuff out of

Holland to Bruges under your jurisdiction, he is in great danger of having them arrested out of his hands by force and violence. For that those goods were sent him out of England in the year 1643, by the earl of Suffolk, for whom he stood bound in a great sum of money, to the end he might have wherewithal to satisfy himself, should he be compelled to pay the debt. Which goods are now in the possession of Richard Greenville, knight, who broke open the doors of the place where they were in custody, and made a violent seizure of the same, under pretence of we know not what due to him from Theophilus earl of Suffolk, by virtue of a certain decree of our court of chancery, to which those goods, as being the earl's, were justly liable; whereas by our laws, neither the earl now living, whose goods they are, is bound by that decree, neither ought the goods to be seized or detained; which the sentence of that court, now sent to your serenity, together with these letters, positively declares and proves. Which letters the said Charles Harbord has desired of us, to the end we would make it our request to your highness, that the said goods may be forthwith discharged from the violent seizure, and no less unjust action of the said Richard Greenville, in regard it is apparently against the custom and law of nations, that any person should be allowed the liberties to sue in a foreign jurisdiction upon a plaint wherein he can have no relief in the country where the cause of action first arose. Therefore the reason of justice itself, and your far celebrated equanimity encouraged us to recommend this cause to your highness; assuring your highness, that whenever any dispute shall happen in our courts concerning the rights and properties of your people, you shall ever find us ready and quick in our returns of favour.

Your highness's most affectionate,

OLIVER, protector of the commonwealth
of England.

Westminster —

LETTERS WRITTEN IN THE NAME OF RICHARD
THE PROTECTOR.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., to the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our
Friend and Confederate;

So soon as our most serene father, Oliver, protector of the commonwealth of England, by the will of God so ordaining, departed this life upon the third of September, we being lawfully declared his successor in the supreme magistracy, though in the extremity of tears and sadness, could do no less than with the first opportunity by these our letters make known a matter of this concernment to your majesty; by whom, as you have been a most cordial friend to our father and this republic, we are confident the mournful and unexpected tidings will be as sorrowfully received. Our business now is, to request your majesty, that you would have such an opinion of us, as of one who has determined nothing more religiously and constantly, than to observe the friendship and confederacy contracted between your majesty and our renowned father: and with the same zeal and goodwill to confirm and establish the leagues by him concluded, and to carry on the same counsels and interests with your majesty. To which intent it is our pleasure that our ambassador, residing at your court, be empowered by the same commission as formerly; and that you will give the same credit to what he transacts in our name, as if it had been done by ourselves. In the mean time we wish your majesty all prosperity.

From our Court at Whitehall, Sep. 5, 1658.

To the most Eminent Lord Cardinal MAZARINE.

THOUGH nothing could fall out more bitter and grievous to us, than to write the mournful news of our most serene and most renowned father's death; nevertheless, in regard we cannot be ignorant of the high esteem which he had for your eminency, and the great value which you had for him; nor have we any reason to doubt, but that your eminency, upon whose care the prosperity of France depends, will no less bewail the

loss of your constant friend, and most united confederate : we thought it of great moment, by these our letters, to make known this accident so deeply to be lamented, as well to your eminency as to the king ; and to assure your eminency, which is but reason, that we shall most religiously observe all those things which our father, of most serene memory, was bound by the league to see confirmed and ratified : and shall make it our business, that in the midst of your mourning for a friend so faithful and flourishing in all virtuous applause, there may be nothing wanting to preserve the faith of our confederacy. For the conservation of which on your part also, to the good of both nations, may God Almighty long preserve your eminency.

Westminster, Sept. 1658.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND,*
&c., to the most Serene Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King
of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King, our
Friend and Confederate;

WHEN we consider with ourselves that it will be a difficult matter for us to be imitators of our father's virtues, unless we should observe and endeavour to hold the same confederacies which he by his prowess acquired, and out of his singular judgment thought most worthy to be embraced and observed; your majesty has no reason to doubt but that it behoves us to pay the same tribute of affection and goodwill, which our father, of most serene memory, always paid to your majesty. Therefore, although in this beginning of our government and dignity I may not find our affairs in that condition as at present to answer to some particulars which your ambassadors have proposed, yet it is our resolution to continue the league concluded by our father with your majesty, and to enter ourselves into a stricter engagement; and so soon as we shall rightly understand the state of affairs on both sides, we shall always be ready on our part to treat of those things which shall be most chiefly for the united benefit of both republics. In the mean time, God long preserve your majesty to his glory, and the defence and safeguard of his orthodox church.

From our Court at Westminster, October, 1658.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS,
King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.*

Most Serene and Potent King, our
Friend and Confederate;

WE have received two letters from your majesty, the one by your envoy, the other transmitted to us from our resident, Philip Meadows, whereby we not only understood your majesty's unfeigned grief for the death of our most serene father, in expressions setting forth the real thoughts of your mind, and how highly your majesty esteemed his prowess and friendship, but also what great hopes your majesty conceived of ourselves advanced in his room. And certainly, as an accumulation of paternal honour in deeming us worthy to succeed him, nothing more noble, more illustrious, could befall us than the judgment of such a prince; nothing more fortunately auspicious could happen to us, at our first entrance upon the government, than such a congratulator; nothing, lastly, that could more vehemently incite us to take possession of our father's virtues, as our lawful inheritance, than the encouragement of so great a king. As to what concerns your majesty's interests, already under consideration between us, in reference to the common cause of the protestants, we would have your majesty have those thoughts of us, that since we came to the helm of this republic, though the condition of our affairs be such at present that they chiefly require our utmost diligence, care, and vigilancy at home, yet that we hold nothing more sacred, and that there is not anything more determined by us, than, as much as in us lies, never to be wanting to the league concluded by our father with your majesty. To that end we have taken care to send a fleet into the Baltic sea, with those instructions which our agent, to that purpose empowered by us, will communicate to your majesty; whom God preserve in long safety, and prosper with success in the defence of his orthodox religion.

From our Court at Westminster, October 13, 1658.

**RICHARD, Protector, to the most Serene and Potent Prince,
CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and
VANDALS, &c.**

Most Serene and most Potent King, our
Friend and Confederate;

WE send to your majesty, nor could we send a present more worthy or more excellent, the truly brave and truly noble Sir George Ascue, knight, not only famed in war, and more especially, for his experience in sea-affairs, approved and tried in many desperate engagements; but also endued with singular probity, modesty, ingenuity, learning, and for the sweeteness of his disposition caressed by all men; and, which is the sum of all, now desirous to serve under the banners of your majesty, so renowned over all the world for your military prowess. And we would have your majesty be fully assured, that whatsoever high employment you confer upon him, wherein fidelity, fortitude, experience, may shine forth in their true lustre, you cannot entrust a person more faithful, more courageous, nor easily more skilful. Moreover, as to those things we have given him in charge to communicate to your majesty, we request that he may have quick access, and favourable audience, and that you will vouchsafe the same credit to him as to ourselves if personally present: lastly, that you will give him that honour as you shall judge becoming a person dignified with his own merits and our recommendation. Now God Almighty prosper all your affairs with happy success, to his own glory and the safeguard of his orthodox church.

From our Court at Whitehall, October, 1658.

**RICHARD, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.,
to the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS,
King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.**

Most Serene and Potent King, our dearest
Friend and Confederate;

SAMUEL PIGGOT, of London, merchant, in a petition delivered to us, sets forth that he lately sent from London into France, upon the account of trade, two vessels, the one called the Post, Tiddie Jacob master, the other the Water-Dog,

Garbrand Peters master. That from France, being laden with salt, they sailed for Amsterdam; at Amsterdam the one took in ballast only; the other, laden with herrings, in copartnership with one Peter Heinbergh, sailed away for Stettin in Pomerania, which is under your jurisdiction, there to unlade her freight; but now he hears that both those vessels are detained somewhere in the Baltic sea by your forces; notwithstanding that he took care to send a writing with both those ships, sealed with the seal of the admiralty-court, by which it appeared that he alone was the lawful owner of both the vessels and goods, that part excepted which belonged to Heinbergh. Of all which, in regard he has made full proof before us, we make it our request to your majesty, (to prevent the ruin and utter shipwreck of the poor man's estate, by the loss of two ships at one time,) that you would command your officers to take care for the speedy discharge of the said vessels. God long preserve your majesty to his own glory, and the safeguard of his orthodox church.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., to the high and mighty Lords, the States of WESTFRIEZ-LAND.*

Most High and Mighty Lords, our dearest Friends and Confederates;

MARY GRINDER, widow, in a petition presented to us, has made a most grievous complaint, that whereas Thomas Killigrew, a commander in your service, has owed her for these eighteen years a considerable sum of money, she can by her agents neither bring him to pay the said money, nor to try his title at law to the same, if he has any. Which that he may not be compelled to do by that widow's attorney, he has petitioned your highnesses that nobody may be suffered to sue him for any money that he owes in England. But should we signify no more than only this to your highnesses, that she is a widow, that she is in great want, the mother of many small children, which her creditor endeavours to deprive of almost all that little support they have in this world, we cannot believe we need make use of any greater arguments to your lordships, so well acquainted with those divine precepts forbidding the oppression of the widow and the fatherless, to persuade ye not to grant any such privilege, upon a bare peti-

tion, to the fraudulent subverter of the widow's right ; and which for the same reason we assure ourselves you will never admit.

From our Court at Westminster, January 27, 1659.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., to the most Serene Prince, LEWIS, King of FRANCE.*

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our most
august Confederate and Friend ;

WE have been given to understand, and that to our no small grief, that several protestant churches in Provence were so maliciously affronted and disturbed by a certain turbulent humourist, that the magistrates at Grenoble, who are the proper judges of such causes, thought him worthy of exemplary punishment ; but that the convention of the clergy, which was held not far from those places, obtained of your majesty, that the whole matter should be removed up to Paris, there to be heard before your royal council. But they not having as yet made any determination in the business, those churches, and more especially that of Yvoire, are forbid to meet for the worship of God. Most earnestly, therefore, we request your majesty, that in the first place you would not prohibit those from preaching in public, whose prayers to God for your safety and the prosperity of your kingdom you are so free to suffer ; then, that the sentence given against that impertinent disturber of divine service, by the proper judges of those causes at Grenoble, may be duly put in execution. God long preserve your majesty in safety and prosperity ; to the end that, if you have any good opinion of our prayers, or think them prevalent with God, you may be speedily induced to suffer the same to be publicly put up to heaven by those churches, now forbid their wonted meetings.

Westminster, Feb. 18, 1659.

To the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord Cardinal ;

THE most illustrious lady, late wife of the deceased duke of Richmond, is now going into France, together with the young duke her son, with an intention to reside there for some time. We, therefore, most earnestly request your eminency,

that if anything fall out, wherein your authority, favour, and patronage may be assisting to them, as strangers, you would vouchsafe to protect their dignity, and to indulge the recommendation of it, not the meanest, in such a manner, that if any addition can be made to your civility towards all people, especially of illustrious descent, we may be sensible our letters have obtained it. Withal your excellency may assure yourself, your recommendation, whenever you require the like from us, shall be of equal force and value in our esteem and care.

Westminster, Feb. 29, 1659.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., to the most Serene Prince, JOHN, King of PORTUGAL.*

Most Serene and Potent Prince, our
Friend and Confederate;

ALTHOUGH there are many things which we are bound to impart by writing to a king our friend, and in strict confederacy with our republic, yet there is nothing which we ever did more willingly, than what we do at this present, by these our letters to congratulate this last victory, so glorious to the kingdom of Portugal, obtained against our common enemy the Spaniard. By which, how great an advantage will accrue not only to your own but to the peace and repose of all Europe, and that perhaps for many years, there is nobody but understands. But there is one thing more, wherein we must acknowledge your majesty's justice, the most certain pledge of victory: that satisfaction has been given by the commissioners appointed at London, according to the 24th article of the league, to our merchants, whose vessels were hired by the Brazil company. Only there is one among them still remaining, Alexander Bence, of London, merchant, whose ship, called the Three Brothers, John Wilks master, being hired and laden, and having performed two voyages for the said company, yet still they refuse to pay him his wages according to their covenants; when the rest that only performed single voyages are already paid. Which why it should be done, we cannot understand, unless those people think, in their judgment, that person more worthy of his hire, who did them only single service, than he who earned his wages twice. We

therefore earnestly request your majesty, that satisfaction may be given, for his service truly performed, to this same single Alexander, to whom a double stipend is due; and that, by virtue of your royal authority, you would prefix the Brazil company as short a day as may be, for the payment of his just due, and repairing his losses; seeing that their delays have been the occasion, that the loss sustained by the merchant has very near exceeded the money itself which is owing for his wages. So God continue your majesty's prosperous successes against the common enemy.

From our Court at Westminster, Feb. 23, 1659.

RICHARD, *Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.*
to the most Eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

Most Eminent Lord;

By letters to your eminency, about eight months since, dated June 13, we recommended to your eminency the cause of Peter Pet, a person of singular probity, and in all naval sciences most useful both to us and our republic. His ship, called the Edward, in the year 1646, as we formerly wrote, was taken in the mouth of the Thames by one Bascon, and sold in the port of Boulogne; and though the king in his royal council the 4th of November, 1647, decreed, that what money the council should think fitting to be given in recompence of the loss, should be forthwith paid in satisfaction to the owner; nevertheless, as he sets forth, he could never reap the benefit of that order. Now in regard we make no question but that your eminency, at our desire, gave strict command for the speedy execution of that decree; we make it therefore our renewed request, that you would vouchsafe to examine where the impediment lies, or through whose neglect or contumacy it came to pass, that in ten years time the king's decree was not obeyed; and employ your authority so effectually, that the money then decreed, which we thought long since satisfied, may be speedily demanded and paid to our petitioner. Thus your eminency will perform an act most grateful to justice, and lay moreover a singular obligation upon ourselves.

From our Court at Westminster, Feb. 25, 1659.

The two following letters, after the deposal of Richard, were written in the name of the parliament restored.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., to the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.

Most Serene and Potent King,
our dearest Friend;

SINCE it has pleased the most merciful and omnipotent God, at whose disposal only the revolutions of all kingdoms and republics are, to restore us to our pristine authority, and the supreme administration of the English affairs; we thought it convenient in the first place to make it known to your majesty; and to signify moreover as well our extraordinary affection to your majesty, so potent a protestant prince, as also our most fervent zeal to promote the peace between your majesty and the king of Denmark, another most powerful protestant king, not to be reconciled without our assistance, and the good offices of our affection. Our pleasure therefore is, that our extraordinary envoy, Philip Meadows, be continued in the same employment with your majesty, with which he has been hitherto intrusted from this republic. To which end we empower him by these our letters to make proposals, act, and negotiate with your majesty, in the same manner as was granted him by his last recommendations; and whatsoever he shall transact and conclude in our name, we faithfully promise and engage, by God's assistance, to confirm and ratify. The same God long support your majesty, the pillar and support of the protestant interests.

WILLIAM LENTHAL, speaker of the parliament of the commonwealth of England.

Westminster, May 15, 1659.

The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c., to the most Serene Prince, FREDERICK, King of DENMARK.

Most Serene King, and most dear Friend;

SEEING it now is come to pass, that by the will and pleasure of the most merciful and powerful God, the supreme moderator of all things, we are restored to our pristine place and

dignity, in the administration of the public affairs, we thought it convenient in the first place, that a revolution of this government should not be concealed from your majesty's notice, a prince both our neighbour and confederate ; and withal to signify how much we lay to heart your ill success : which you will easily perceive by our zeal and diligence, that never shall be wanting in us to promote and accomplish a reconciliation between your majesty and the king of Sweden. And therefore we have commanded our extraordinary envoy with the most serene king of Sweden, Philip Meadows, to attend your majesty, in our name, in order to these matters, and to impart, propound, act, and negotiate such things as we have given him in charge to communicate to your majesty : and what credit you shall give to him in this his employment, we request your majesty to believe it given to ourselves. God Almighty grant your majesty a happy and joyful deliverance out of all your difficulties and afflicting troubles, under which you stand so undauntedly supported by your fortitude and magnanimity.

WILLIAM LENTHAL, speaker of the parliament of
the commonwealth of England.

Westminster, May 15, 1659.

A MANIFESTO OF THE LORD PROTECTOR
TO THE
COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
IRELAND, &c.

PUBLISHED BY CONSENT AND ADVICE OF HIS COUNCIL.

WHEREIN IS SHEWN THE REASONABLENESS OF THE CAUSE OF THIS
REPUBLIC AGAINST THE DEPREDATIONS OF THE SPANIARDS.

[WRITTEN IN LATIN BY JOHN MILTON, AND FIRST PRINTED IN 1655;
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH IN 1738.]

THAT the motives whereby we have been lately induced to make an attack upon certain islands in the West Indies, which have been now for some time in the hands of the Spaniards, are exceeding just and reasonable, every one will easily see, who considers in what a hostile manner that king and his subjects have all along, in those parts of America, treated the English nation ; which behaviour of theirs as it

was very unjust at the beginning, so ever since with the same injustice they have persevered in it, in a direct contrariety to the common law of nations, and to particular articles of alliance made betwixt the two kingdoms.

It must indeed be acknowledged, the English for some years past have either patiently borne with these injuries, or only defended themselves; which may possibly give occasion to some to look upon that late expedition of our fleet to the West Indies as a war voluntarily begun by us, instead of considering that this war was first begun and raised by the Spaniards themselves, as in reality it will be found to be, and (though this republic have done all that lay in their power to establish peace and commerce in those parts) hitherto kept up and carried on by them with the greatest eagerness.

That the Spaniards themselves are the occasion of this war, will evidently appear to every one who considers how, as oft as they find opportunity, without any just cause, and without being provoked to it by any injury received, they are continually murdering, and sometimes even in cold blood butchering, any of our countrymen in America they think fit; while in the mean time they seize upon their goods and fortunes, demolish their houses and plantations, take any of their ships they happen to meet with in those seas, and treat the sailors as enemies, nay, even as pirates. For they give that opprobrious name to all, except those of their own nation, who venture to sail in those seas. Nor do they pretend any other or better right for so doing, than a certain ridiculous gift of the pope on which they rely, and because they were the first discoverers of some parts of that western region; by virtue of which name and title, which they arrogate to themselves, they maintain that the whole power and government of that western world is lodged only in their hands. Of which very absurd title we shall have occasion to speak more fully, when we come to consider the causes assigned by the Spaniards for their thinking themselves at liberty to exercise all sorts of hostilities against our countrymen in America, to such a degree, that whoever are driven upon those coasts by stress of weather or shipwreck, or any other accident, are not only clapped in chains by them as prisoners, but are even made slaves; while they, notwithstanding all this, are so unreasonable as to think, that the peace is broken, and very much

violated by the English ; and that even in Europe, if they attempt anything against them in those parts, with a view to make reprisals, and to demand restitution of their goods.

But though the king of Spain's ambassadors in our country, depending on a Spanish faction which had always a very considerable influence in the last king's council, as well as his father's, did not scruple to make a great many unreasonable complaints and ridiculous demands upon the most trivial accounts, whenever the English did anything of this kind ; yet those princes, though too much attached to the Spaniards, would by no means have the hands of their subjects bound up, when the Spaniards thought they should have the free use of theirs. On the contrary, they allowed their subjects to repel force by force, and to consider such of the Spaniards, as could not be brought at any rate to keep the peace in those parts, as enemies. So that about the year 1640, when this affair was debated in the last king's council, and when the Spanish ambassador desired that some ships bound for America, lying in the mouth of the river, and just ready to weigh anchor, should be stopped as being capable of doing mischief to the Spaniards in that part of the world ; and when at the same time he refused the English, who asked it of him by some members of the council appointed for that purpose, the privilege of trading to the West Indies, it was nevertheless resolved upon, that these ships should pursue their intended voyage, which accordingly they did.

Thus far the aforesaid princes were not wanting to their subjects, when they made war in those places privately for their own interest, though, by reason of the power of the above-mentioned Spanish faction, they would not espouse their cause publicly, in the way they ought to have done, and in a manner suitable to the ancient glory of the English nation. And certainly, it would have been the most unbecoming and disgraceful thing in the world for us, who by the kind providence of God had in our possession so many ships equipped and furnished with everything requisite to a war by sea, to have suffered these ships rather to have grown worm-eaten and rot at home for want of use, than to have been employed in avenging the blood of the English, as well as that of the poor Indians, which in those places has been so unjustly, so cruelly, and so often shed by the hands of the

Spaniards: since God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. And surely God will one time or other take vengeance on the Spaniards, who have shed so much innocent blood, who have made such terrible havoc among the poor Indians, slain so many thousands of them with the utmost barbarity, done them so many injuries, and harassed and persecuted them in such a miserable manner, whatever time that may happen, and by whose hand soever it may be executed.

But in order to justify our conduct, there is no need of having recourse to the common relation that men have to one another, which is no other than that of brethren, whereby all great and extraordinary wrongs done to particular persons ought to be considered as in a manner done to all the rest of the human race; since their having so often robbed and murdered our own countrymen was cause sufficient of itself for our having undertaken that late expedition, and has given us abundant reason to avenge ourselves on that people: to pass by at present a great many other reasons, and to take into consideration our own safety for the future, and likewise that of our allies, especially those among them who are of the orthodox religion; and to omit several other causes, whereby we were prompted to this expedition, of which we have no need at present to give a particular enumeration, since our principal design at this time is to declare and shew to the world the justice and equity of the thing itself, and not to reckon up all the particular causes of it. And that we may do this with the greater perspicuity, and explain generals by particulars, we must cast our eyes back a little upon things that are past, and strictly examine all the transactions betwixt the English and Spaniards, consider what has been the state of affairs on both sides, so far as may respect the mutual relation of the two kingdoms, both since the first discovery of America, and since the Reformation: which two great events, as they happened much about the same time, so they produced everywhere vast changes and revolutions, especially amongst the English and Spaniards, who since that time have conducted and managed their affairs in a very different, if not quite contrary, way to what they did formerly. For though the last king and his father, against the will of almost

all their subjects, patched up any way two leagues with the Spaniards ; yet the different turns of the two nations, proceeding from the difference of their religious principles, and the perpetual dissensions that were in the West Indies, together with the jealousies and suspicions which the Spaniards had all along of the English, (being always mightily afraid of losing their treasures in America,) have not only frustrated all the late attempts made by this commonwealth to obtain a peace upon reasonable and honourable terms, but were likewise the principal reasons why Philip II., in queen Elizabeth's reign, broke that ancient league, that had subsisted so long, without any violation, betwixt this nation and his ancestors of the house of Burgundy and Castile ; and having made war upon that queen, proposed to subdue this whole nation : which very thing in the year 1588 he attempted with all his might, while in the mean time he was treating about the establishment of a peace ; which certainly cannot but be still deeply rooted in the minds of the English, and will not easily be extirpated. And though after that there was some kind of peace and commerce in Europe, (and it was of such sort, that no Englishman durst profess his own religion within any part of the Spanish dominions, or have the Holy Bible in his house, or even aboard a ship,) yet in the West Indies the Spaniard from that time has never allowed them either to enjoy peace, or to have the privilege of trading ; contrary to what was expressly stipulated concerning both these things in that league of the year 1542, concluded between Henry VIII., king of England, and the emperor Charles V., in which peace and free commerce were expressly established between these two princes and their people, through every part of their respective dominions, through all their ports and territories, without any exception of the West Indies, which was then subject to that emperor.

But as to that article, of a peace to be maintained on the part of both nations through all the countries of the world ; this is indeed plainly contained in all the treaties of peace that were ever betwixt them, nor is there any exception relating to commerce in any of these treaties, till that which was made in the year 1604, with which that in the year 1630 does perfectly agree. In which two last treaties it was received upon, that both nations should have a privilege of

trading in every part of one another's dominions, in all those places where, before the war between Philip II., king of Spain, and Elizabeth, queen of England, there was any commerce, according to what was usual and customary in ancient alliances and treaties made before that time. These are the very individual words of those treaties, which do plainly leave the matter dubious and uncertain, and so king James was satisfied to make peace with Spain any how, since he only renewed the very same treaty which had been concluded a little before the death of queen Elizabeth, who charged her deputies when it was in agitation, among other things, to insist warmly on having a privilege of trading to the West Indies.

But King James, who was mightily desirous of making peace with the Spaniards, was content to leave that clause so expressed, as both parties might explain it in their own way, and as they judged would be most for their own advantage; though these words, "According to what is usual and customary in ancient alliances and treaties," are so to be understood as it is reasonable they should, according to what in justice ought to be done, and not according to what has been done on the part of the Spaniards, to their manifest violation, (which has afforded perpetual matter of complaint to the English, and has been an occasion of continual quarrels betwixt the two nations,) it is most evident from the express words of ancient treaties, that the English had a privilege both of peace and commerce, through all the Spanish dominions.

Moreover, if the way of observing ancient treaties and agreements is to be taken from their manifest violation, the Spaniards have some pretence for explaining that clause, in the last treaties, as debarring the English from all manner of commerce in these parts. And for all that, during one half the time that intervened betwixt the foresaid treaty in the year 1542, and the beginning of the war betwixt Philip II. and Elizabeth, so far as we can judge from the manner in which things were carried on, it would appear that trading in these places was as much allowed as prohibited. But when the Spaniards would permit no commerce at all, they and the English came from the exchange of goods to that of blows and wounds; and this not only before the war broke out betwixt Philip and Elizabeth, but likewise after a peace was made in the year 1604 by king James, and another by his son in

1630, and yet so as not to stop the course of trade through Europe. However, the king of Spain, after this late interruption of our trade, has now judged that the contests in America may be extended to Europe itself.

But we neither insist on the interpretation of treaties, nor the right of commerce by virtue of these treaties, or on any other account, as if this contest of ours with Spain were necessarily to be founded on these. This is built on the clearest and most evident reasons in the world, as will presently appear. Nevertheless, there are some things of such a nature, that though it be not so necessary to found a war upon them, yet they may very justly be obstacles to the establishing of a peace, or at least to the renewing of an alliance, in which these things are not granted, which have either been granted in former pactions, or may reasonably be expected. And this may serve as an answer to that question, Why, since we have renewed the ancient treaties we had formerly made with all other nations, we have not done the same with Spain? and may serve to convince the world that, in the articles of alliance, we have not, as is objected, demanded his right eye, far less both eyes, by our refusing to be liable to the cruel and bloody inquisition in those places where we have been allowed to traffic, but have only insisted upon having such a privilege of carrying on trade, as we were not to be deprived of, either by ancient treaties, or the law of nature. For though the king of Spain has assumed to himself a power of prescribing us the laws and bounds of commerce, by authority of a law made by the pope, whereby he discharges all traffic with Turks, Jews, and other infidels; * and though under this pretence, even in time of peace, his ships of war, in other places besides the West Indies, have taken and plundered our ships; and though by the same authority of the pope, and under pretence of a certain gift he has from him, he

* William Stephens, of Bristol, and some other London merchants, in the years 1606 and 1607, trading with those people who live on the coast of Morocco, with three vessels, some ships belonging to the king of Spain that were pirating along these coasts, having come upon them in the bay of Saffia and the harbour of Santo Cruz, while they were lying at anchor, plundered them, without giving any other reason for their doing it than this, that the king their master would not allow of any commerce with infidels; and the loss these merchants sustained at that time was computed at more than £,000l.

claims the Indians for his subjects, as if forsooth they also were subject unto him, who are neither under his authority nor protection ; yet we maintain, that neither the pope nor the king of Spain is invested with any such power, as either to rob them of their liberty, or us of the privilege of conversing and trading with them, which we have by the law of nature and nations, but especially with those who, as we formerly observed, are not under the power and government of the king of Spain.

Another obstacle to our renewing an alliance with Spain is sufficiently manifest, and at the same time very remarkable ; which is this, that any of our ambassadors and public ministers who are sent into that kingdom, either for the sake or cultivating a good understanding, or about any other business, betwixt the two commonwealths, are altogether uncertain of their lives, the king being tied down to such opinions, as binder him from providing for their safety against murderers, so as they may not be always in the most imminent danger ; whose privileges, in order to keep up and preserve friendship between princes and commonwealths, have by the law of nations been always considered as inviolable, and as a thing much more sacred than those altars of refuge, whose privileges, built on the authority of the pope and the church of Rome, have been hitherto applied to elude the force of laws and justice, which we demanded should be put in execution against the murderers of Mr. Anthony Ascham, who was sent by this republic into Spain, to procure and establish friendship betwixt the two nations. For which barbarous murder there has never as yet been any satisfaction made, nor punishment inflicted on the authors of it, nor could this ever be obtained, though it was demanded by the parliament ; * and in their name several times urged with the greatest warmth

* This is evident from the parliament's letter, signed by the hand of the speaker, to the king of Spain, in the month of January, 1650, the words whereof are as follow :— “ We demand of your majesty, and insist upon it, that public justice be at length satisfied for the barbarous murder of Anthony Ascham, our resident at your court, and the rather, that after we have seen condign punishment inflicted on the authors of such a detestable crime, we may be in no fear hereafter to send our ambassador to your royal court, to lay before you such things as may be equally advantageous to your majesty and our commonwealth. On the contrary, if we should suffer that blood, the shedding whereof was a thing in many respects so remarkably

by the council of state. And this has been hitherto one continual obstacle, and a very just one too, to the renewing of an alliance betwixt the two nations ; nay, if we consider how other nations have frequently acted in like cases, it may be considered as a very just cause for war.

But as to the disputes that have arisen in the West Indies, though we, both in the continent itself, and in the islands, have plantations as well as they, and have as good, nay, a better right to possess them, than the Spaniards have to possess theirs, and though we have a right to trade in those seas, equally good with theirs ; yet, without any reason, or any damage sustained, and that when there was not the least dispute about commerce, they have been continually invading our colonies in a hostile way, killing our men, taking our ships, robbing us of our goods, laying waste our houses and fields, imprisoning and enslaving our people : this they have been doing all along till these present times, wherein they have of late engaged in an expedition against them.

For which reason, contrary to what used to be done formerly in the like case, they have detained our ships and merchants, and confiscated their goods almost everywhere through the Spanish dominions ; so that whether we turn our eyes to America or Europe, they alone are undoubtedly to be considered as the authors of the war, and the cause of all the inconveniences and all the bloodshed with which it may possibly be attended.

There are a great many instances of the most cruel and barbarous treatment, the English have perpetually met with from the Spaniards in the West Indies ; and that even in time of peace, both since the year 1604, when the peace was patched up by king James, till the time that the war broke out again, and since that last peace, which was concluded in the year 1630, to this very day. We shall only mention a few of them.*

horrible, to pass unrevenged, we must of necessity be partakers in that detestable crime in the sight of God, our only deliverer and the eternal fountain of our mercies, and in the eye of the whole English nation ; especially if ever we should send any other of our countrymen into that kingdom, where murder is allowed to go quite unpunished. But we have so great an opinion of your majesty, that we will not easily be brought to believe that your royal authority is subjected to any other power superior to it within your own dominions."

* As a ship call'd the Ulysses was trading along the coast of Guiana, the

After a peace was concluded in the year 1605, a ship called the Mary, Ambrose Birch commander, was trading on the north coast of Hispaniola: the master being allured with promises of a safe and free commerce, by one father John and six of his accomplices, to go ashore to see some goods, twelve Spaniards in the meanwhile going aboard to see the English goods, while the English, suspecting no frauds, were shewing them their wares, the priest giving a signal from the shore, the Spaniards every man drew his dagger, and stabbed all the English that were in the ship, except two who leaped into the sea, and the rest ashore were put to death with an unparalleled cruelty; the master himself stript of his clothes, and fastened to a tree, was exposed naked to be bit by the flies and vermin. And after he had continued in this miserable case for the space of twenty hours, a negro, hearing his groans, came to the place, and as he was just on the point of expiring, stabbed him with a spear. This ship with her goods was valued at 5,400*l.*

Another ship called the Archer was taken at St. Domingo, and all the sailors put to death. She was reckoned worth 1,300*l.*

Another ship, called the Friendship, of London, with her loading, was taken by Lodowic Fajard, admiral of the Spanish fleet, all her goods confiscated, and the merchants and mariners thrown into the sea, except one boy, who was reserved for a slave. This ship with her loading was estimated at 1,500*l.*

The sailors going ashore out of another ship, called the Scorn, (the Spaniards having solemnly sworn they would do them no prejudice,) were all nevertheless bound to trees and merchants and sailors happened to go ashore, by the persuasion of Berry, governor of that place, who had promised, nay, even sworn that they should receive no hurt; nevertheless there were thirty of them taken and committed to prison. Upon which the governor writes a letter to the merchant, acquainting him that he had indeed taken thirty of his men, and that because some foreigners, who had come there to trade with them, had defrauded him of 20,000 ducats, which, if he would send him, he swore he would restore all his men, and allow him the liberty of commerce. The merchant sent him the sum he demanded, part in ready money, part in goods, which after the governor had received, he ordered all the thirty men to be fastened to trees and strangled, except the chirurgeon, who was reserved to cure the governor of a certain disease. This ransom, together with other damages sustained there, was computed at 7,000*l.*

strangled. The ship with all her goods was seized, and the merchants, to whom she belonged, lost at this time 1,500*l.*

In the year 1606, a ship called the Neptune, was taken at Tortuga, by the Spanish guarda costas, valued at 4,300*l.**

The same year, another ship, called the Lark, was taken by Lodowic Fajard, and confiscated, with all her loading, valued at 4,570*l.*

Another, called the Castor and Pollux, was taken by the Spaniards at Florida, by whom she was confiscated, and all her sailors either killed or made slaves; for they were never heard of afterwards. This vessel with her loading was valued at 15,000*l.*†

In the year 1608, a Plymouth ship called the Richard, commanded by Henry Challins, fitted out at the expense of Lord Popham, lord-chief-justice of England, Ferdinand Gorges, knight, and others, to go to Virginia, happening to be driven by stress of weather upon the southern part of the Canary Islands, in her way from thence to the coast of Virginia, she chanced to fall in with eleven Spanish ships returning from St. Domingo, who seized her; and though the captain, to rescue himself out of their hands, produced a royal passport, yet the ship with all her goods was confiscated, the captain himself barbarously used by them, and sent to the galleys. This was a damage of more than 2,500*l.*

A ship called the Aid, was served much the same way by Lodowic Fajard, having been taken under pretence of friendship; she too with her goods was confiscated, and all the sailors sent to the galleys, where some were cudgelled to death for refusing to ply the oars. Which vessel with her goods, by the Spaniards' own estimation, was worth 7,000*l.*

The same year another ship, called the gallant Anne, William Curry commander, as she was trading at Hispaniola, was likewise confiscated with all her goods, and all the sailors hanged; each of them, by way of ridicule, having a piece of

* John Davis lost two ships with all their goods, and the Spaniards slew all the men that were aboard of them, to the entire loss of that voyage, and this was computed at 3,500*l.*

† Another ship belonging to some London merchants, John Lock commander, was taken by the Spanish fleet, at the isle of Tortuga, because she had been trading there, and had felled some trees; for this she was confiscated, most of the sailors put to death, and the rest condemned to the galleys. This was esteemed a loss of 5,300*l.*

paper sewed to his coat, which had these words written upon it, "Why came ye hither?" This ship with her burden was valued at 8,000*l.* These instances do sufficiently shew what kind of peace the Spaniards maintained with us during the reign of king James, who was always very much afraid of breaking the peace with them. And we may also plainly discover the same acts of hostility and barbarous treatment ever since the last peace, which was made in the year 1630, to this very day. For this end we will first speak a little of those colonies that were planted by some noblemen of this nation, in the isle of Catelina, which they call the isle of Providence, and the island of Tortuga, by them called the island of Association. These islands about the year 1629, being then quite uninhabited, having neither men nor cattle in them, were seized by the English, who at that time were at war with the Spaniards. The year following, when peace was established betwixt the two nations, the Spaniards having made no exception about these islands, king Charles, in a charter under the great seal of England, declared himself master of the isle of Providence and some other islands adjacent to it, which he thought no way inconsistent with this peace, and gave them in possession to some noblemen and their heirs; and next year he extended this grant to the isle of Tortuga.

And though the above-mentioned planters had got possession of these islands by the king's grant, and though this grant was exceeding well founded, first, on the law of nature, since neither the Spaniards, nor any other people whatever, were in possession of these places when they seized them; and secondly, on the right of war, since they were taken possession of in time of war, and were not excepted in the articles of peace, whence it follows from the second article of the last treaty, that the title of the Spaniards to these islands (even supposing they had had one) was made null by their own consent; and though likewise, neither the aforesaid company of planters in general, nor any one of them in particular, by any action of theirs had given any just cause of offence, either to the king of Spain or to any of his subjects, till they had first in a violent manner attacked our ships and colonies, and had slain several of the English, and set fire to their houses; yet the Spaniards, being firmly resolved to break the peace in these places, about the twenty-second of January, 1632, without any the least

provocation, betwixt the isle of Tortuga and the cape of Florida, in a hostile manner fell upon a certain ship belonging to the company, called the Sea-Flower, on her return from the isle of Providence, in which engagement they slew some of the men aboard that ship, and wounded others.

After this, about the year 1634, the isle of Tortuga was attacked by four ships belonging to the Spaniards, without any injury done on the part of the English, in which attack upwards of sixty were slain, many wounded and taken prisoners, their houses burnt down and quite demolished, their most valuable goods carried off by the Spaniards, and the English almost wholly driven out of that island ; of whom some were hanged, others carried to the Havanna, and detained in the most abject slavery. One Grymes, who had been a gunner in Tortuga, was distinguished from the rest by a death remarkably cruel. Some of them flying for refuge to a certain desert island called Santa Cruz, were again set upon by the Spaniards, who even pursued them thither with three galleys in the month of March, 1636, of whom forty were killed, and the rest taken prisoners, and used with the utmost barbarity.

In the year 1635, July 24th, the Spaniards, with two great ships and one galley, made likewise an attack upon the isle of Providence, and they fought for several hours ; but at that time they were repulsed and forced to give over their enterprise. However, they attempted the same thing a second time, about the year 1640, with twelve ships, some large, and some of a lesser size, whereof the admiral's ship was called the Armadillo, of Cartagena, one of the greater galleys of the royal plate-fleet ; and having sent a great number of soldiers ashore, they were confident of making themselves masters of the whole island ; but yet were repulsed with a great deal of damage, and forced to retreat. Nevertheless, having equipped another fleet, they returned a little after, when the planters, at variance among themselves, did not so much employ their thoughts about what method they should take to defend themselves, as about the terms upon which they might most advantageously surrender ; which terms, upon their giving up the island, they found no difficulty to obtain. But the island was by this means wrested out of the hands both of the planters and the commonwealth, of whom the former sustained the loss of more than 80,000*l.*, and the latter, besides the loss of the Island, hereby received a very open and public affront. After

the Spaniards had thus made themselves masters of the Isle of Providence, a ship bringing some passengers hither, who wanted to transport themselves to this place from New England, the Spaniards by stratagem having found means to get her brought within gun-shot, (the people in the ship knowing nothing of their late conquest of that island,) she was in great danger of being taken, and with very much difficulty rescued herself; the master of the ship, a very honest and worthy man, was killed by a bullet-shot from the island.

Nor were the Spaniards content to confine the acts of hostility, which they have exercised upon the people of that colony, within the boundaries of America, but have also treated them in the same hostile manner in Europe. For in the year 1638, December 25th, a ship belonging to that same company, called the Providence, Thomas Newman commander, two leagues from Dungeness on the very coast of England, was assaulted and taken by Sprengfeld, captain of a privateer belonging to Dunkirk, to which place this ship was brought, and her cargo detained, which even by the computation of many persons in that place was reckoned to amount to the sum of 30,000*l.* As for the sailors, some were slain, some wounded, and the rest, after having been treated with the greatest inhumanity, in their own ship, were hurried away to Dunkirk, where they met with much the same usage, till they found some way to make their escape; and though the owners demanded satisfaction in the most earnest manner, and the last king by his resident Mr. Balthasar Gerber, and both by letters written with his own hand, and the hand of secretary Coke, asked reparation on their behalf; yet they could neither procure the restitution of their goods, nor the least compensation for these losses.

But there are other examples of the Spanish cruelty, which are of a later date, and still more shocking; such as that of their coming from Porto Rico and attacking Santa Cruz about the year 1651, an island that was not formerly inhabited, but at that time possessed by an English colony, governed by Nicol. Philips, who with about an hundred more of the colony was barbarously murdered by the hands of the Spaniards, who besides this attacked the ships in the harbour, plundered their houses and razed them from the very foundation; and when they could find no more to sacrifice to their fury, (the rest of the inhabitants having fled to the woods,) returning to Porto Rico, they gave the miserable remnant, who were

well nigh famished, time to remove from Santa Cruz, and to betake themselves to some other neighbouring islands. But a little time thereafte^r, they returned in quest and pursuit of those who skulked in the woods ; but they had the good fortune to find a way of making their escape, and stealing away privately to other islands.

In the same year, 1631, a ship belonging to John Turner, being driven into the harbour of Cumanagola by tempestuous winds, was seized by the governor of that place, and confiscated with all her lading.

The same was done to captain Cranley's ship and her goods.*

And in the year 1650, a certain vessel pertaining to Samuel Wilson, loaden with horses, was taken on the high seas in her way to Barbadoes, and carried to the Havanna. Both the ship and her goods were confiscated, most of the sailors imprisoned, and, like slaves, obliged to work at the fortifications.

The same hardships were endured by the sailors aboard a certain ship of Barnstable about two years since, which in her return from some of our plantations in the Carribee islands, springing a leak hard by Hispaniola, the sailors to save themselves, being obliged to get into the long-boat, got ashore, where they were all made slaves, and obliged to work at the fortifications.

By these, and many more examples of the same kind, too long to be reckoned up, it is abundantly evident, the king of Spain and his subjects think they are no way bound by any condition of peace to be performed to us on their part in these places, since they have habitually exercised all sorts of hostilities against us, nay, have even done such things as are more insufferable, and more grievous, than open acts of hostility ; and since that cruelty, with which they usually treat the English in America, is so contrary to the articles of peace, that it does not so much as seem suitable to the laws of the most bloody war : however, in that embargo of the king of Spain, by which he orders our merchant ships and their goods to be seized and confiscated, the whole blame is laid upon the English, whom he brands with the odious names of treaty-breakers and violators of the most sacred peace, and likewise of free commerce, which he pretends to have so religiously maintained on his part, and gives out that we have violated

* And also to one belonging to John Bland, commanded by Nicol. Philip^{ps}, in the very same harbour.

the laws of peace and commerce with such strange and professed hostility, that we attempted to besiege the town of St. Domingo in the isle of Hispaniola. Which is the only cause he offers, why the goods of the English are confiscated in Spain, and the trading people confined ; though this is likewise aggravated by his boasted humanity ; for he maintains that he in the most friendly way received our fleets into his harbours,* where it could be of any advantage for them to enter, and that his ministers did not at all require of us a strict observance of the articles of peace that were agreed to by the two crowns, which forbid both parties to enter a harbour with more than six or eight ships of war.

But as he, by talking in this strain, acquits our fleets of all trespasses and violations of treaty in these harbours, since if any such thing as is objected has been done and passed over, it has been done by the allowance of himself and his ministers ; and as it is exceeding manifest, that he has not been so favourable for nought, if he will but reflect with himself what vast profits he has received from our fleets, so on the other hand, that the king and his ministers have not at all in fact observed the agreements he speaks of, in the twenty-third article of which, the following provision is made in the most express terms : “ That if any differences should happen to arise betwixt the two commonwealths, the subjects on both sides should be advertised, that they should have six months from the time of the advertisement to transport their effects, during which time there should be no arrest, interrupting, or damaging, of any man’s person or goods.” In which affair that king truly has shown but very little regard to those contracts which he charges us with having broken, as appears from that late confiscation of our goods. But what he declares in that edict concerning the acts of hostility committed in the West Indies, their being to be considered as a violation of peace and free commerce in these parts, is a new and quite different explanation from what has ever been propounded

* But Swanley, our admiral, was not so civilly treated in Sicily in the harbour of Drepano, when in the year 1653, about the month of June, his ship, called the Henry Bonaventure, together with a large and very rich Dutch ship, called the Peter, which he had taken, was by the treachery of the Spanish governor in that place taken by seven Dutch ships, under the command of the younger Trump in the very harbour, no further than a small gun’s shot from the bulwarks, whereby the merchants, to whom that ship belonged, lost more than 63,000l.

hitherto by either of the two republics, though both parties have frequently had occasions to declare their judgment about this matter.

But seeing the king of Spain has declared both by word and deed, that the articles of peace ought to be thus understood, it follows, that by so many acts of hostility committed against the English in these parts, and which first began on his side, and have been continued from the very time of the last concluded treaty, as was formerly observed, to this very day; hence I say it follows, that he seems to be convinced, that the sacred bonds of friendship have been first broken on his side. Which thing is so clear and manifest, that our adversaries themselves in this controversy are ashamed to deny the fact, and choose rather to dispute with us concerning the right of possession; which must be in the following manner: as the king of Spain, among his other titles, has assumed that of king of the Indies, so they affirm, that the whole Indies and Indian sea, both south and north, belong to him; and that they are all enemies and pirates, who approach these places without his commission. Which if it were true, both we and all other nations ought to leave and restore to him all our possessions there, and having brought back whatever colonies we have sent thither, should beg his pardon for the injury we have done him. But if we consider a little more narrowly the truth and reasonableness of this title, we shall find that it is built upon a very slender and weak foundation, to have such a vast pile of war and contentions erected upon it, as the present is likely to be. They pretend to have a double title, one founded upon the pope's gift, and another upon their having first discovered those places. As to the first, we know the pope has been always very liberal in his gifts of kingdoms and countries, but in the mean time we cannot but think, that in so doing, he acts in a very different manner from him, whose vicar he professes himself, who would not so much as allow himself to be appointed a judge in the dividing of inheritances, far less give any one whole kingdoms at his pleasure, like the pope, who has thought fit to make a present of England, Ireland, and some other kingdoms.

But we deny his being invested with any such authority; nor do we think there is any nation so void of understanding, as to think that so great power is lodged in him, or that

the Spaniards would believe this or acquiesce in it, if he should require them to yield up as much as he has bestowed. But if the French and others, who acknowledge the pope's authority in ecclesiastical matters, have no regard to this title of the Spaniards, it cannot be expected we should think of it any otherwise. And so we leave this point, as not deserving a fuller answer.

Nor is the other title of any greater weight, as if the Spaniards in consequence of their having first discovered some few parts of America, and given names to some islands, rivers, and promontories, had for this reason lawfully acquired the government and dominion of that new world. But such an imaginary title, founded on such a silly pretence, without being in possession, cannot possibly create any true and lawful right. The best right of possession in America is that which is founded on one's having planted colonies there, and settled in such places as had either no inhabitants, or by the consent of the inhabitants, if there were any; or at least, in some of the wild and uncultivated places of their country, which they were not numerous enough to replenish and improve; since God has created this earth for the use of men, and ordered them to replenish it throughout.

If this be true, as the Spaniards will be found to hold their possessions there very unjustly, having purchased all of them against the will of the inhabitants, and as it were plucked them out of their very bowels, having laid the foundations of their empire in that place, in the blood of the poor natives, and rendered several large islands and countries, that were in a tolerable case when they found them, so many barren deserts, and rooted out all the inhabitants there; so the English hold their possessions there by the best right imaginable, especially those islands where the Spaniards have fallen upon their colonies, and quite demolished them; which islands had no other inhabitants at all, or if they had, they were all slain by the Spaniards, who had likewise deserted these places, and left them without any to improve or cultivate them: so that by the law of nature and nations they belong to any who think fit to take possession of them, according to that common and well-known maxim in law, "Such things as belong to none, and such as are abandoned by their former possessors, become his property who first seizes them." Although, granting we had beat the

Spaniards out of those places where we have planted our colonies, out of which they had at first expelled the inhabitants, we should have possessed them with better right, as the avengers of the murder of that people, and of the injuries sustained by them, than the Spaniards their oppressors and murderers. But since we have settled our colonies in such places as were neither possessed by the natives nor the Spaniards, they having left behind them neither houses nor cattle, nor anything that could by any means keep up the right of possession, the justness of our title to these places was so much the more evident, and the injuries done us by the Spaniards so much the more manifest, especially our right to those places that were seized while the two nations were at war with each other, such as the isles of Providence and Tortuga, which if the Spaniards could have shewn to be theirs, by any former title which they have not yet produced, yet since they have not done it in the last treaty of peace, by the second article of this treaty, they have for the future cut themselves off from all such pretence, and if they had any right, have now lost it. It is unnecessary to talk any further upon this argument.

There is no intelligent person but will easily see how empty and weak those reasons are, that the Spaniard has for claiming to himself alone an empire of such a vast and prodigious extent. But we have said this much, in order to shew the weakness of those pretences, whereby the Spaniards endeavour to justify themselves for having treated us with so much cruelty and barbarity in the West Indies; for having enslaved, hanged, drowned, tortured, and put to death our countrymen, robbed them of their ships and goods, and demolished our colonies, even in the time of profound peace, and that without any injury received on their part: which cruel usage and havoc, made among our people, and such as were of the same orthodox faith with them, as oft as the English call to remembrance, they cannot miss to think that their former glory is quite gone, and their ships of war become entirely useless, if they suffer themselves to be any longer treated in such a disgraceful manner: and moreover, to be not only excluded from all free commerce in so great and opulent a part of the world, but likewise to be looked upon as pirates and robbers, and punished in the same manner as they, if they presume to sail those seas, or so much as

look that way; or, in fine, have any intercourse or dealing even with their own colonies that are settled there.

Concerning the bloody Spanish inquisition we shall say nothing, this being a controversy common to all protestants, nor shall we speak of the many seminaries of English priests and jesuits nestling under the protection of the Spaniards, which is a perpetual cause of stumbling, and very great danger to the commonwealth; since what we principally propose is, to shew the grounds and reasons of the controversies in the West Indies, and we are confident we have made it plain to all, who weigh things fairly and impartially, that necessity, honour, and justice, have prompted us to undertake this late expedition. First, we have been prompted to it by necessity; it being absolutely necessary to go to war with the Spaniards, since they will not allow us to be at peace with them: and then honour, and justice, seeing we cannot pretend to either of these, if we sit still and suffer such unsufferable injuries to be done our countrymen, as those we have shewn to have been done them in the West Indies.

And truly they see but a very little way, who from their notion of the designs and intentions of the Spaniards, according to that friendly aspect, with which the present declension of their affairs has obliged them to look upon us in these parts of the world, (that face which they have put on being only a false one,) for it is certain they have the same mind, and the very same desires, which they had in the year 1588 when they endeavoured to subdue this whole island; nay, it is certain their hatred is more inflamed, and their jealousies and suspicions more increased by this change of the state of our affairs, and of the form of our republic. But if we omit this opportunity, which by reason of some things that have lately happened, may perhaps give us an occasion to fall upon some way, whereby through the assistance of God we may provide for our safety, against this old and implacable enemy of our religion and country; it may happen, he will recover such a degree of strength, as will render him as formidable and hard to be endured as before. One thing is certain, he always will and cannot but have the greatest indignation against us. Meanwhile, if we suffer such grievous injuries to be done our countrymen in the West Indies, without any satisfaction or revenge; if we suffer ourselves to be wholly

excluded from that so considerable a part of the world ; if we suffer our malicious and inveterate enemy (especially now, after he has made peace with the Dutch) to carry off without molestation, from the West Indies, those prodigious treasures whereby he may repair his present damages, and again bring his affairs to such a prosperous and happy condition, as to deliberate with himself a second time, what he was thinking upon in the year 1588 ; namely, whether it would be more advisable to begin with subduing England, in order to recover the United Provinces, or with them, in order to reduce England under his subjection ; without doubt he will not find fewer, but more, causes why he should begin with England. And if God should at any time permit those intentions of his to have their desired effect, we have good ground to expect, that the residue of that cruel havoc he made among our brethren at the foot of the Alps, will be first exercised upon us, and after that upon all protestants ; which, if we may give credit to the complaints that were made by those poor orthodox Christians, was first designed and contrived in the court of Spain, by those friars whom they call missionaries.

All these things being considered, we hope the time will come, when all, but especially true Englishmen, will rather lay aside their private animosities among themselves, and renounce their own proper advantages, than through an excessive desire of that small profit to be made by trading to Spain, (which cannot be obtained but upon such conditions as are dishonourable and in some sort unlawful, and which may likewise be got some other way,) expose, as they now do, to the utmost danger, the souls of many young traders, by those terms upon which they now live and trade there, and suffer the lives and fortunes of many Christian brethren in America, and in fine, the honour of this whole nation, to be exposed, and, what of all is the most momentous and important, let slip out of their hands the most noble opportunities of promoting the glory of God, and enlarging the bounds of Christ's kingdom : which, we do not doubt, will appear to be the chief end of our late expedition into the West Indies against the Spaniards, to all who are free of those prejudices which hinder people from clearly discerning the truth.

B R I E F N O T E S
UPON
A LATE SERMON
TITLED,
THE FEAR OF GOD AND THE KING;
PREACHED AND SINCE PUBLISHED
BY MATTHEW GRIFFITH, D.D.,
AND CHAPLAIN TO THE LATE KING.
WHEREIN MANY NOTORIOUS WRESTINGS OF SCRIPTURE, AND
OTHER FALSITIES, ARE OBSERVED.
[FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1660.]

I AFFIRMED in the Preface of a late discourse, intitled, “The ready Way to establish a Free Commonwealth, and the Dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation,” that the humour of returning to our old bondage was instilled of late by some deceivers; and to make good, that what I then affirmed was not without just ground, one of those deceivers I present here to the people: and if I prove him not such, refuse not to be so accounted in his stead.

He begins in his epistle to the general,* and moves cunningly for a licence to be admitted physician both to church and state; then sets out his practice in physical terms, “a wholesome electuary, to be taken every morning next our hearts;” tells of the opposition which he met with from the college of state physicians, then lays before you his drugs and ingredients: “Strong purgatives in the pulpit, contempered of the myrrh of mortification, the aloes of confession and contrition, the rhubarb of restitution and satisfaction;” a pretty fantastic dose of divinity from a pulpit mountebank, not unlike the fox, that, turning pedlar, opened his pack of ware before the kid; though he now would seem, “to personate the good Samaritan,” undertaking to “describe the rise and progress of our national malady, and to prescribe the only remedy;” which how he performs, we shall quickly see.

First, he would suborn St. Luke as his spokesman to the general, presuming, it seems, “to have had as perfect under-

* Monk.

standing of things from the very first," as the evangelist had of his Gospel; that the general, who hath so eminently borne his part in the whole action, "might know the certainty of those things" better from him, a partial sequestered enemy; for so he presently appears, though covertly, and like the tempter, commencing his address with an impudent calumny and affront to his excellence, that he would be pleased "to carry on what he had so happily begun in the name and cause," not of God only, which we doubt not, but "of his anointed," meaning the late king's son; to charge him most audaciously and falsely with the renouncing of his own public promises and declarations, both to the parliament and the army: and we trust his actions ere long will deter such insinuating slanderers from thus approaching him for the future. But the general may well excuse him; for the comforter himself scapes not his presumption, avouched as falsely, to have empowered to those designs "him and him only," who hath solemnly declared the contrary. What fanatic, against whom he so often inveighs, could more presumptuously affirm whom the comforter hath empowered, than this anti-fanatic, as he would be thought?

THE TEXT.

Prov. xxiv. 21, My son, fear God and the king, and meddle not with them that be seditious, or desirous of change, &c.

Letting pass matters not in controversy, I come to the main drift of your sermon, the king; which word here is either to signify any supreme magistrate, or else your latter object, of fear, is not universal, belongs not at all to many parts of Christendom, that have no king; and in particular not to us. That we have no king since the putting down of kingship in this commonwealth, is manifest by this last parliament, who, to the time of their dissolving, not only made no address at all to any king, but summoned this next to come by the writ formerly appointed of a free commonwealth, without restitution or the least mention of any kingly right or power; which could not be, if there were at present any king of England. The main part therefore of your sermon, if it mean a king in the usual sense, is either impertinent and absurd, exhorting your auditory to fear that which is not; or if

king here be, as it is understood, for any supreme magistrate, by your own exhortation, they are, in the first place, not to meddle with you, as being yourself most of all the "seditious" meant here, and the "desirous of change," in stirring them up to "fear a king," whom the present government takes no notice of.

You begin with a vain vision, "God and the king at the first blush" (which will not be your last blush) "seeming to stand in your text like those two cherubims on the mercy-seat, looking on each other." By this similitude, your conceited sanctuary, worse than the altar of Ahaz, patterned from Damascus, degrades God to a cherub, and raises your king to be his collateral in place, notwithstanding the other differences you put; which well agrees with the court-letters, lately published, from this lord to the other lord, that cry him up for no less than angelical and celestial.

Your first observation, page 8, is, "That God and the king are coupled in the text, and what the Holy Ghost hath thus firmly combined, we may not, we must not dare to put asunder;" and yourself is the first man who puts them asunder by the first proof of your doctrine immediately following, Judg. vii. 20, which couples the sword of the Lord and Gideon, a man who not only was no king, but refused to be a king or monarch, when it was offered him, in the very next chapter, ver. 22, 23: "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you; the Lord shall rule over you." Here we see, that this worthy heroic deliverer of his country thought it best governed, if the Lord governed it in that form of a free commonwealth, which they then enjoyed, without a single person. And thus is your first scripture abused, and most impertinently cited, nay, against yourself, to prove, that "kings at their coronation have a sword given them," which you interpret "the militia, the power of life and death put into their hands," against the declared judgment of our parliaments, nay, of all our laws, which reserve to themselves only the power of life and death, and render you in their just resentment of this boldness another Dr. Manwaring.

Your next proof is as false and frivolous. "The king," say you, "is God's sword-bearer;" true, but not the king only: for Gideon, by whom you seek to prove this, neither was nor would be a king; and, as you yourself confess, page 40,

"There be divers forms of government." "He bears not the sword in vain," Rom. xiii. 4: This also is as true of any lawful rulers, especially supreme; so that "rulers," ver. 3, and therefore this present government, without whose authority you excite the people to a king, bear the sword as well as kings, and as little in vain. "They fight against God who resist his ordinance, and go about to wrest the sword out of the hands of his anointed." This is likewise granted: but who is his anointed? Not every king, but they only who were anointed or made kings by his special command; as Saul, David, and his race, which ended in the Messiah, (from whom no kings at this day can derive their title,) Jehu, Cyrus, and if any other were by name appointed by him to some particular service. As for the rest of kings, all other supreme magistrates are as much the Lord's anointed as they; and our obedience commanded equally to them all: "For there is no power but of God," Rom. xiii. 1: and we are exhorted in the Gospel to obey kings, as other magistrates, not that they are called anywhere the Lord's anointed, but as they are the "ordinance of man," 1 Pet. ii. 13. You therefore, and other such false doctors, preaching kings to your auditory, as the Lord's only anointed, to withdraw people from the present government, by your own text are self-condemned, and not to be followed, not to be "meddled with," but to be noted, as most of all others the "seditious and desirous of change."

Your third proof is no less against yourself: Psal. cv. 15, "Touch not mine anointed." For this is not spoken in behalf of kings, but spoken to reprove kings, that they should not touch his anointed saints and servants, the seed of Abraham, as the verse next before might have taught you: "He reproved kings for their sakes, saying, Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm;" according to that, 2 Cor. i. 21, "He who hath anointed us, is God." But how well you confirm one wrested scripture with another! 1 Sam. vii. 7, "They have not rejected thee, but me:" grossly misapplying these words, which were not spoken to any who had "resisted or rejected" a king, but to them who, much against the will of God, had sought a king, and rejected a commonwealth, wherein they might have lived happily under the reign of God only, their king. Let the

words interpret themselves; ver. 6, 7, "But the thing displeased Samuel, when they said, Give us a king to judge us; and Samuel prayed unto the Lord. And the Lord said unto Samuel, Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them." Hence you conclude, "So indissoluble is the conjunction of God and the king." O notorious abuse of scripture! whenas you should have concluded, So unwilling was God to give them a king, so wide was the disjunction of God from a king. Is this the doctrine you boast of, to be "so clear in itself, and like a mathematical principle, that needs no further demonstration?" Bad logic, bad mathematics, (for principles can have no demonstration at all,) but worse divinity. O people of an implicit faith, no better than Romish, if these be thy prime teachers, who to their credulous audience dare thus juggle with scripture, to allege those places for the proof of their doctrine, which are the plain refutation! And this is all the scripture which he brings to confirm his point.

The rest of his preaching is mere groundless chat, save here and there a few grains of corn scattered to entice the silly fowl into his net, interlaced here and there with some human reading, though slight, and not without geographical and historical mistakes: as page 29, Suevia, the German dukedom, for Suecia, the northern kingdom: Philip of Macedon, who is generally understood of the great Alexander's father only, made contemporary, page 31, with T. Quintus, the Roman commander, instead of T. Quintius, and the latter Philip: and page 44, Tully cited "in his third oration against Verres," to say of him, "that he was a wicked consul," who never was a consul: nor "Trojan sedition ever portrayed" by that verse of Virgil, which you cite page 47, as that of Troy: schoolboys could have told you, that there is nothing of Troy in that whole portraiture, as you call it, of sedition. These gross mistakes may justly bring in doubt your other loose citations, and that you take them up somewhere at the second or third hand, rashly, and without due considering.

Nor are you happier in the relating or the moralizing your fable. "The frogs" (**BEING ONCE A FREE NATION**, saith the fable) "petitioned Jupiter for a king: h tumbled

among them a log : they found it insensible ; they petitioned then for a king that should be active : he sent them a crane," (a STORK, saith the fable,) " which straight fell to pecking them up." This you apply to the reproof of them who desire change : whereas indeed the true moral shews rather the folly of those who being free seek a king ; which for the most part either as a log lies heavy on his subjects, without doing aught worthy of his dignity and the charge to maintain him, or, as a stork, is ever pecking them up, and devouring them.

But "by our fundamental laws, the king is the highest power," page 40. If we must hear mooting and law lectures from the pulpit, what shame is it for a doctor of divinity not first to consider, that no law can be fundamental, but that which is grounded on the light of nature or right reason, commonly called moral law : which no form of government was ever counted, but arbitrary, and at all times in the choice of every free people, or their representatives ! This choice of government is so essential to their freedom, that longer than they have it, they are not free. In this land not only the late king and his posterity, but kingship itself, hath been abrogated by a law ; which involves with as good reason the posterity of a king forfeited to the people, as that law heretofore of treason against the king attainted the children with the father. This law against both king and kingship they who most question, do not less question all enacted without the king and his anti-parliament at Oxford, though called mongrel by himself. If no law must be held good but what passes in full parliament, then surely in exactness of legality no member must be missing : for look how many are missing, so many counties or cities that sent them want their representatives. But if, being once chosen, they serve for the whole nation, then any number, which is sufficient, is full, and most of all in times of discord, necessity, and danger. The king himself was bound by the old mode of parliaments, not to be absent, but in case of sickness, or some extraordinary occasion, and then to leave his substitute ; much less might any member be allowed to absent himself. If the king then and many of the members with him, without leaving any in his stead, forsook the parliament upon a mere panic fear, as

was that time judged by most men, and to levy war against them that sat, should they who were left sitting, break up, or not dare enact aught of nearest and presentest concernment to public safety, for the punctilio wanting of a full number, which no law-book in such extraordinary cases hath determined? Certainly if it were lawful for them to fly from their charge upon pretence of private safety, it was much more lawful for these to set and act in their trust what was necessary for the public. By a law therefore of parliament, and of a parliament that conquered both Ireland, Scotland, and all their enemies in England, defended their friends, were generally acknowledged for a parliament both at home and abroad, kingship was abolished: this law now of late hath been negatively repealed; yet kingship not positively restored, and I suppose never was established by any certain law in this land, nor possibly could be: for how could our forefathers bind us to any certain form of government, more than we can bind our posterity? If a people be put to war with their king for his misgovernment, and overcome him, the power is then undoubtedly in their own hands how they will be governed. The war was granted just by the king himself at the beginning of his last treaty; and still maintained to be so by this last parliament, as appears by the qualification prescribed to the members of this next ensuing, that none shall be elected who have borne arms against the parliament since 1641. If the war were just, the conquest was also just by the law of nations. And he who was the chief enemy, in all right ceased to be the king, especially after captivity, by the deciding verdict of war; and royalty with all her laws and pretensions yet remains in the victor's power, together with the choice of our future government. Free commonwealths have been ever counted fittest and properst for civil, virtuous, and industrious nations, abounding with prudent men worthy to govern; monarchy fittest to curb degenerate, corrupt, idle, proud, luxurious people. If we desire to be of the former, nothing better for us, nothing nobler than a free commonwealth; if we will needs condemn ourselves to be of the latter, despairing of our own virtue, industry, and the number of our able men, we may then, conscious of our own unworthiness to be governed better, sadly betake us to our

befitting thraldom: yet choosing out of our number one who hath best aided the people, and best merited against tyranny, the space of a reign or two we may chance to live happily enough, or tolerably. But that a victorious people should give up themselves again to the vanquished, was never yet heard of, seems rather void of all reason and good policy, and will in all probability subject the subduers to the subdued, will expose to revenge, to beggary, to ruin, and perpetual bondage, the victors under the vanquished: than which what can be more unworthy?

From misinterpreting our law, you return to do again the same with scripture, and would prove the supremacy of English kings from 1 Pet. ii. 13, as if that were the apostle's work: wherein if he saith that "the king is supreme," he speaks so of him but as an "ordinance of man," and in respect of those "governors that are sent by him," not in respect of parliaments, which by the law of this land are his bridle; in vain his bridle, if not also his rider: and therefore hath not only co-ordination with him, which you falsely call seditious, but hath superiority above him, and that neither "against religion," nor "right reason:" no, nor against common law; for our kings reigned only by law. But the parliament is above all positive law, whether civil or common, makes or unmakes them both; and still the latter parliament above the former, above all the former lawgivers, then certainly above all precedent laws, entailed the crown on whom it pleased; and, as a great lawyer saith, "is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds." But your cry is, No parliament without a king. If this be so, we have never had lawful kings, who have all been created kings either by such parliaments, or by conquest: if by such parliaments, they are in your allowance none; if by conquest, that conquest we have now conquered. So that as well by your own assertion as by ours, there can at present be no king. And how could that person be absolutely supreme, who reigned, not under law only, but under oath of his good demeanour, given to the people at his coronation, ere the people gave him his crown? and his principal oath was to maintain those laws which the people should choose. If then the law itself, much more he who was but the

keeper and minister of law, was in their choice, and both he subordinate to the performance of his duty sworn, and our sworn allegiance in order only to his performance.

You fall next on the consistorian schismatics; for so you call presbyterians, page 40, and judge them to have “enervated the king's supremacy by their opinions and practice, differing in many things only in terms from popery;” though some of those principles which you there cite concerning kingship, are to be read in Aristotle's Politics, long ere popery was thought on. The presbyterians therefore it concerns to be well forewarned of you betimes; and to them I leave you.

As for your examples of seditious men, page 54, &c., Cora, Absalom, Zimri, Sheba, to these you might with much more reason have added your own name, who “blow the trumpet of sedition” from your pulpit against the present government: in reward whereof they have sent you by this time, as I hear, to your “own place,” for preaching open sedition, while you would seem to preach against it.

As for your Appendix annexed of the “Samaritan revived,” finding it so foul a libel against all the well affected of this land, since the very time of ship-money, against the whole parliament, both lords and commons, except those that fled to Oxford, against the whole reformed church, not only in England and Scotland, but all over Europe, (in comparison whereof you and your prelatrical party are more truly schismatics and sectarians, nay, more properly fanatics in your fanes and gilded temples, than those whom you revile by those names,) and meeting with no more scripture or solid reason in your “Samaritan wine and oil,” than hath already been found sophisticated and adulterate, I leave your malignant narrative, as needing no other confutation than the just censure already passed upon you by the council of state.

OF REFORMATION IN ENGLAND,
AND THE
CAUSES THAT HITHERTO HAVE HINDERED IT
IN TWO BOOKS.
WRITTEN TO A FRIEND.

EDITOR'S PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

ON this treatise the reader will find several observations in my “Preliminary Discourse.” I shall therefore add no remarks of my own here, but introduce the excellent outline which Toland has given of the work. He says, “He first of all, therefore, in the year 1641, published two books of Reformation, dedicated to a friend. In the first of these he shows, by orderly steps from Henry the Eighth’s reign, what were all along the real impediments in this kingdom to a perfect reformation, which in general he reduces to two heads, that is, our retaining of ceremonies, and confiding the power of ordination to diocesan bishops exclusively of the people. ‘Our ceremonies,’ he says, ‘are senseless in themselves, and serve for nothing but either to facilitate our return to popery; or to hide the defects of better knowledge, and to set off the pomp of prelacy.’ As for the bishops, many whom he denies not to have been good men, though not infallible nor above all human frailties, he affirms, ‘that at the beginning, though they had renounced the pope, they hugged the popedom, and shared the authority among themselves.’ In king Edward the Sixth’s time, he affirms, ‘they were, with their prostitute gravities, the common stales to countenance every politic fetch that was then on foot. If a toleration for mass were to be begged of the king for his sister Mary, lest Charles the Fifth should be angry, who but the grave prelates, Cranmer and Ridley, should be sent to extort it from the young king? When the lord Sudley, admiral of England, and the Protector’s brother, was wrongfully to lose his life, no man could be found fitter than Latimer to divulge in his sermon the forged accusations laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with the people. Cranmer, one of the king’s executors, and the other bishops did, to gratify the ambition of a traitor, consent to exclude from the succession, not only Mary the papist, but also Elizabeth the protestant, though before declared by themselves the lawful issue of their late master.’ In queen Elizabeth’s reign, he imputes the obstructions of a further reformation still to the bishops, and then proceeds from antiquity to prove that all ecclesiastical elections belonged to the people; but that if those ages had favoured episcopacy, we should not be much concerned, since the best times were spreadingly infected, the best men of those times foully tainted, and the best writings of those men dangerously adulterated; which propositions he labours to prove at large. In the second book he continues his discourses of prelatical episcopacy, displays the politics of the same; which, according to him are always opposite to liberty; he deduces the history of it down from its remotest original, and shows, ‘that in England particularly it is so far from being, as they commonly allege, the only form of church discipline agreeable to monarchy, that the mortallest diseases and convul-

sions of the government did ever proceed from the craft of the prelates, or was occasioned by their pride: Then he encourages the English and Scots to pursue their begun contest for liberty by this exhortation, ‘ Go on both, hand in hand, O nations, never to be disunited ! Be the praise and the heroic songs of all posterity : merit this ; but seek only virtue, not to extend your limits, (for what needs to win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men ?) but to settle the pure worship of God in his church, and justice in the state. Then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before ye ; envy shall sink to hell, craft and malice be confounded, whether it be homebred mischief, or outlandish cunning ; yea, other nations will then covet to serve ye ; for lordship and victory are but the pages of justice and virtue Commit securely to true wisdom the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and subtlety, which are but her two runagates. Join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds ; and then he that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations ! ’ ”

1641 OF REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.
THE FIRST BOOK.

SIR,—Amidst those deep and retired thoughts, which, with every man Christianly instructed, ought to be most frequent of God, and of his miraculous ways and works amongst men, and of our religion and works, to be performed to him ; after the story of our Saviour Christ, suffering to the lowest bent of weakness in the flesh, and presently triumphing to the highest pitch of glory in the spirit, which drew up his body also : till we in both be united to him in the revelation of his kingdom, I do not know of anything more worthy to take up the whole passion of pity on the one side, and joy on the other, than to consider first the foul and sudden corruption, and then, after many a tedious age, the long deferred, but much more wonderful and happy reformation of the church in these latter days. Sad it is to think how that doctrine of the gospel, planted by teachers divinely inspired, and by them winnowed and sifted from the chaff of overdated ceremonies, and refined to such a spiritual height and temper of purity, and knowledge of the Creator, that the body, with all the circumstances of time and place, were purified by the affections of the regenerate soul, and nothing left impure but sin ; faith needing not the weak and fallible office of the senses, to be either the ushers or interpreters of heavenly mysteries, save where our Lord himself in his sacraments ordained ; that such a doctrine should, through the grossness and blindness

of her professors, and the fraud of deceivable traditions, drag so downwards, as to backslide one way into the Jewish beggary of old cast rudiments, and stumble forward another way into the new-vomited paganism of sensual idolatry, attributing purity or impurity to things indifferent, that they might bring the inward acts of the spirit to the outward and customary eye-service of the body, as if they could make God earthly and fleshly, because they could not make themselves heavenly and spiritual : they began to draw down all the divine intercourse betwixt God and the soul, yea, the very shape of God himself, into an exterior and bodily form, urgently pretending a necessity and obligation of joining the body in a formal reverence and worship circumscribed ; they hallowed it, they fumed up, they sprinkled it, they bedecked it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure linen, with other deformed and fantastic dresses, in palls and mitres, gold, and gewgaws fetched from Aaron's old wardrobe, or the flamins vestry : then was the priest set to con his motions and his postures, his liturgies and his lurries, till the soul by this means of overbodying herself, given up justly to fleshly delights, bated her wing apace downward : and finding the ease she had from her visible and sensuous colleague, the body, in performance of religious duties, her pinions now broken, and flagging, shifted off from herself the labour of high soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull and droiling carcase to plod on in the old road, and drudging trade of outward conformity. And here out of question from her perverse conceiting of God and holy things, she had fallen to believe no God at all, had not custom and the worm of conscience nipped her incredulity : hence to all the duties of evangelical grace, instead of the adoptive and cheerful boldness which our new alliance with God requires, came servile and thralllike fear : for in very deed, the superstitious man by his good will is an atheist ; but being scared from thence by the pangs and gripes of a boiling conscience, all in a pudder shuffles up to himself such a God and such a worship as is most agreeable to remedy his fear ; which fear of his, as also is his hope, fixed only upon the flesh, renders likewise the whole faculty of his apprehension carnal ; and all the inward acts of worship, issuing from the native strength of the soul, run out lavishly to the upper skin, and there harden into a

crust of formality. Hence men came to scan the scriptures by the letter, and in the covenant of our redemption, magnified the external signs more than the quickening power of the Spirit; and yet, looking on them through their own guiltiness with a servile fear, and finding as little comfort, or rather terror from them again, they knew not how to hide their slavish approach to God's behests, by them not understood, nor worthily received, but by cloaking their servile crouching to all religious presentments, sometimes lawful, sometimes idolatrous, under the name of humility, and terming the piebald frippery and ostentation of ceremonies, decency.

Then was baptism changed into a kind of exorcism, and water, sanctified by Christ's institute, thought little enough to wash off the original spot, without the scratch or cross impression of a priest's forefinger: and that feast of free grace and adoption to which Christ invited his disciples to sit as brethren, and coheirs of the happy covenant, which at that table was to be sealed to them, even that feast of love and heavenly-admitted fellowship, the seal of filial grace, became the subject of horror, and glouting adoration, pageanted about like a dreadful idol; which sometimes deceives well-meaning men, and beguiles them of their reward, by their voluntary humility; which indeed is fleshly pride, preferring a foolish sacrifice, and the rudiments of the world, as St. Paul to the Colossians explaineth, before a savoury obedience to Christ's example. Such was Peter's unseasonable humility, as then his knowledge was small, when Christ came to wash his feet; who at an impertinent time would needs strain courtesy with his master, and falling Troublesomely upon the lowly, all-wise, and unexaminalble intention of Christ, in what he went with resolution to do, so provoked by his interruption the meek Lord, that he threatened to exclude him from his heavenly portion, unless he could be content to be less arrogant and stiffnecked in his humility.

But to dwell no longer in characterizing the depravities of the church, and how they sprung, and how they took increase; when I recall to mind at last, after so many dark ages, wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the church; how the bright and blissful Reformation * (by divine power) struck through

* We have now, after the revolution of two centuries, come no longer to

the black and settled night of ignorance and antichristian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears ; and the sweet odour of the returning gospel imbathe his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it, the schools opened, divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues, the princes and cities trooping apace to the new erected banner of salvation ;

regard the Reformation as *bright* and *blissful*. Indeed, numbers of pious and learned men among us have greatly distinguished themselves of late, by denying and declaiming against it. Helvetius, speaking of matters of taste, observes that, when we have grown familiar with the beautiful, we pass on by a sort of physical necessity, to the extravagant, it being one of the laws of our nature that we can never remain fixed in one point, but must always, like the sea, be in motion, ebbing or flowing. The same remark may be applied in affairs of higher import. Truth itself becomes stale by use, so that pleasant and novel errors are preferred before it. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that many, nay, most of the improvements of modern society are, together with us, children of the Reformation, and that to it we owe the progress we have made in civil freedom, in philosophy, in literature, and in science. The plastic and mimetic arts are undoubtedly less indebted to it. One of the principles of catholicism is the picturesque, while the spirit of the Reformation leads to the cultivation of a stern simplicity, which easily degenerates into baldness, and an insufferable monotony. Hence the cultivators of art are often led by their fancy back to their own religion, in the character of which they discover forms more congenial to their minds than those found within the circle of the Reformation. Milton, however, whether in prose or verse, whether in controversy or didactic writing, always displays an undoubting preference for the grandeur of Christian stoicism found in the puritanical or ultimate development of the Reformation. His capacious and energetic mind needed none of those helps to inspiration required by persons of less vigorous intellect. Familiar with all the forms of the imagination, he could, with the aid of the simplest faith, enforce vitality into them all, while spurning all the invention of man, and ranging the universe in the works. as it were, of its Almighty Creator. To him the Reformation itself was not sufficiently reform. He desired to abandon all rites and ceremonies, and to approach the Deity through forms of worship less complicated than those adopted by any existing church. His religion, in fact, was a philosophy impregnated with the spirit of the gospel, and comprehending all its truth, but completely independent of creeds and symbols. It was, in one word, Christianity pure and undefiled, because unalloyed by human teaching. To follow Milton's footsteps in this respect, it would be necessary to possess all the qualities of his mind, which, from that day to this, no man perhaps can be said to have done ; consequently, there is little danger that his interpretation of the gospel should ever be generally adopted, or even spread sufficiently to form a sect.—ED.

the martyrs, with the irresistible might of weakness, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon.

The pleasing pursuit of these thoughts hath ofttimes led me into a serious question and debate ment with myself, how it should come to pass that England (having had this grace and honour from God, to be the first that should set up a standard for the recovery of lost truth, and blow the first evangelic trumpet to the nations, holding up, as from a hill, the new lamp of saving light to all Christendom) should now be last and most unsettled in the enjoyment of that peace, whereof she taught the way to others ; * although indeed our Wickliffe's preaching, at which all the succeeding reformers more effectually lighted their tapers, was to his countrymen but a short blaze, soon damped and stifled by the pope and prelates for six or seven kings' reigns ; yet methinks the precedence which God gave this island, to be first restorer of buried truth, should have been followed with more happy success, and sooner attained perfection ; in which as yet we are amongst the last : for, albeit in purity of doctrine we agree with our brethren ; yet in discipline, which is the execution and applying of doctrine home, and laying the salve

* I have elsewhere remarked, that this is a favourite manner of speaking with Milton, who seems to have pleased himself with thinking, that England exhibited the mark of God's special protection. Philosophically considered, this notion must, of course, be admitted to be erroneous, since God can no more have respect of nations than respect of persons ; but as a matter of fact, it is not to be denied that some nations are far more fortunate than others, and not only attain to greater prosperity, but exhibit, through a long succession of ages, greater energy of thought in elocution, eloquence, courage, wisdom, and philosophy. To the share of England has fallen some of the most glorious achievements recorded in history. Here was seen the first dawn of the Reformation ; here the cradle of modern liberty ; here have risen the most illustrious names in poetry, courage, and patriotism. Reflecting on these things, and yielding to the impulse of a generous enthusiasm, Milton might well be pardoned for indulging in the poetical belief that God himself looked with favour on this our island, from which so many blessings have emanated to the rest of mankind. In the " Defence of the People of England," he compares the genius of our land, distributing freedom to the nations, to the old mythological hero, carrying about from region to region the fruits of Ceres, wheat and barley, and whatever contributes to the support of life : and, in many other parts of his works, he glories in other proofs of his country's greatness, in a lofty and dignified manner, not unworthy to be compared with that in which Pericles, in his funeral oration, dwells on the glories of Athens.—ED.

to the very orifice of the wound, yea, tenting and searching to the core, without which pulpit preaching is but shooting at rovers; in this we are no better than a schism from all the Reformation, and a sore scandal to them: for while we hold ordination to belong only to bishops, as our prelates do, we must of necessity hold also their ministers to be no ministers, and shortly after their church to be no church: not to speak of those senseless ceremonies which we only retain, as a dangerous earnest of sliding back to Roine, and serving merely, either as a mist to cover nakedness where true grace is extinguished, or as an interlude to set out the pomp of prelatism. Certainly it would be worth the while therefore, and the pains, to inquire more particularly, what, and how many the chief causes have been, that have still hindered our uniform consent to the rest of the churches abroad, at this time especially when the kingdom is in a good propensity thereto, and all men in prayers, in hopes, or in disputes, either for or against it.

Yet I will not insist on that which may seem to be the cause on God's part; as his judgment on our sins, the trial of his own, the unmasking of hypocrites: nor shall I stay to speak of the continual eagerness and extreme diligence of the pope and papists to stop the furtherance of reformation, which know they have no hold or hope of England, their lost darling, longer than the government of bishops bolsters them out; and therefore plot all they can to uphold them, as may be seen by the book of Santa Clara, the popish priest, in defence of bishops, which came out piping hot much about the time that one of our own prelates, out of an ominous fear, had writ on the same argument; as if they had joined their forces, like good confederates, to support one falling Babel.

But I shall chiefly endeavour to declare those causes that hinder the forwarding of true discipline, which are among ourselves. Orderly proceeding will divide our inquiry into our forefathers' days, and into our times. Henry VIII. was the first that rent this kingdom from the pope's subjection totally; but his quarrel being more about supremacy, than other faultiness in religion that he regarded, it is no marvel if he stuck where he did.* The next default was in the

* Milton was able to estimate at their true value the services of Henry VIII., who, in his quarrel with the pope, contended for himself, not for religion. It was by mere accident that he furthered the cause of the Reformation.—ED.

bishops, who though they had renounced the pope, they still hugged the popedom, and shared the authority among themselves, by their six bloody articles, persecuting the protestants no slacker than the pope would have done. And doubtless, whenever the pope shall fall, if his ruin be not like the sudden downcome of a tower, the bishops, when they see him tottering, will leave him, and fall to scrambling, catch who may, he a patriarchdom, and another what comes next hand ; as the French cardinal of late and the see of Canterbury hath plainly affected.

In Edward the Sixth's days, why a complete reformation was not effected, to any considerate man may appear. First, he no sooner entered into his kingdom, but into a war with Scotland ; from whence the protector returning with victory, had but newly put his hand to repeal the six articles, and throw the images out of churches, but rebellions on all sides, stirred up by obdurate papists, and other tumults, with a plain war in Norfolk, holding tack against two of the king's generals, made them of force content themselves with what they had already done. Hereupon followed ambitious contentions among the peers, which ceased not but with the protector's death, who was the most zealous in this point : and then Northumberland was he that could do most in England, who little minding religion, (as his apostasy well shewed at his death,) bent all his wit how to bring the right of the crown into his own line. And for the bishops, they were so far from any such worthy attempts, as that they suffered themselves to be the common stales, to countenance with their prostituted gravities every politic fetch that was then on foot, as oft as the potent statists pleased to employ them. Never do we read that they made use of their authority and high place of access, to bring the jarring nobility to Christian peace, or to withstand their disloyal projects : but if a toleration for mass were to be begged of the king for his sister Mary, lest Charles the Fifth should be angry, who but the grave prelates, Crammer and Ridley, must be sent to extort it from the young king ? But out of the mouth of that godly and royal child, Christ himself returned such an awful repulse to those halting and timeserving prelates, that after much bold importunity, they went their way not without shame and tears.

Nor was this the first time that they discovered to be followers of this world ; for when the protector's brother, Lord Sudley, the admiral, through private malice and mal-engine, was to lose his life, no man could be found fitter than bishop Latimer (like another Dr. Shaw) to divulge in his sermon the forged accusations laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with the people, who else it was thought would take ill the innocent man's death, unless the reverend bishop could warrant them there was no foul play. What could be more impious than to debar the children of the king from their right to the crown ? to comply with the ambitious usurpation of a traitor, and to make void the last will of Henry VIII., to which the breakers had sworn observance ? Yet bishop Cranmer, one of the executors, and the other bishops, none refusing, (lest they should resist the duke of Northumberland,) could find in their consciences to set their hands to the disenabling and defeating not only the princess Mary the papist, but of Elizabeth the protestant, and (by the bishops' judgment) the lawful issue of king Henry.

Who then can think (though these prelates had sought a further reformation) that the least wry face of a politician would not have hushed them ? But it will be said, these men were martyrs : what then ? though every true Christian will be a martyr when he is called to it, not presently does it follow, that every one suffering for religion is, without exception. St. Paul writes, that "a man may give his body to be burnt, (meaning for religion,) and yet not have charity :" he is not therefore above all possibility of erring, because he burns for some points of truth.

Witness the* Arians and Pelagians, which were slain by the heathen for Christ's sake, yet we take both these for no true friends of Christ. If the martyrs (saith Cyprian in his 30th epistle) decree one thing, and the gospel another, either the martyrs must lose their crown by not observing the gospel for which they are martyrs, or the majesty of the gospel must be broken and lie flat, if it can be overtopped by the novelty of any other decree.

* It appears from this and other passages, that the author in his younger years was orthodox, as it is called : but he afterwards altered his sentiments, as is plain from his tract on "True Religion, Heresy, Schism, and Toleration," which was the last work he published.

And here withal I invoke the Immortal Deity, revealer and judge of secrets, that wherever I have in this book plainly and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the faults and blemishes of fathers, martyrs, or Christian emperors, or have otherwise inveighed against error and superstition with vehement expressions; I have done it neither out of malice, nor list to speak evil, nor any vain glory, but of mere necessity to vindicate the spotless truth from an ignominious bondage, whose native worth is now become of such a low esteem, that she is like to find small credit with us for what she can say, unless she can bring a ticket from Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley; or prove herself a retainer to Constantine, and wear his badge. More tolerable it were for the church of God, that all these names were utterly abolished, like the brazen serpent, than that man's fond opinion should thus idolize them, and the heavenly truth be thus captivated.

Now to proceed, whatsoever the bishops were, it seems they themselves were unsatisfied in matters of religion as they then stood, by that commission granted to eight bishops, eight other divines, eight civilians, eight common lawyers, to frame ecclesiastical constitutions; which no wonder if it came to nothing, for (as Hayward relates) both their professions and their ends were different. Lastly, we all know by example, that exact reformation is not perfected at the first push, and those unwieldy times of Edward VI. may hold some plea by this excuse. Now let any reasonable man judge whether that king's reign be a fit time from whence to pattern out the constitution of a church discipline, much less that it should yield occasion from whence to foster and establish the continuance of imperfection, with the commendatory subsciptions of confessors and martyrs, to entitle and engage a glorious name to a gross corruption. It was not episcopacy that wrought in them the heavenly fortitude of martyrdom, as little is it that martyrdom can make good episcopacy; but it was episcopacy that led the good and holy men, through the temptation of the enemy, and the snare of this present world, to many blameworthy and opprobrious actions. And it is still episcopacy that before all our eyes worsens and slugs the most learned and seeming religious of our ministers, who no sooner advanced to it, but, like a seething

pot set to cool, sensibly exhale and reak out the greatest part of that zeal and those gifts which were formerly in them, settling in a skinny congealment of ease and sloth at the top ; and if they keep their learning by some potent sway of nature, it is a rare chance ; but their devotion most commonly comes to that queazy temper of lukewarmness, that gives a vomit to God himself.

But what do we suffer misshapen and enormous prelatism, as we do, thus to blanch and varnish her deformities with the fair colours, as before of martyrdom, so now of episcopacy ? They are not bishops, God and all good men know they are not, that have filled this land with late confusion and violence ; but a tyrannical crew and corporation of imposters, that have blinded and abused the world so long under that name. He that, enabled with gifts from God, and the lawful and primitive choice of the church assembled in convenient number, faithfully from that time forward feeds his parochial flock, has his coequal and compresbyterial power to ordain ministers and deacons by public prayer, and vote of Christ's congregation in like sort as he himself was ordanied, and is a true apostolic bishop. But when he steps up into the chair of pontifical pride, and changes a moderate and exemplary house for a misgoverned and haughty palace, spiritual dignity for carnal precedence, and secular high office and employment for the high negotiations of his heavenly embassage, then he degrades, then he unbishops himself ; he that makes him bishop, makes him no bishop. No marvel therefore if St. Martin complained to Sulpitius Severus, that since he was bishop he felt inwardly a sensible decay of those virtues and graces that God had given him in great measure before ; although the same Sulpitius write that he was nothing tainted or altered in his habit, diet, or personal demeanour from that simple plainness to which he first betook himself. It was not therefore that thing alone which God took displeasure at in the bishops of those times, but rather an universal rottenness and gangrene in the whole function.

From hence then I pass to queen Elizabeth, the next protestant princess, in whose days why religion attained not a perfect reducement in the beginning of her reign, I suppose the hindering causes will be found to be common with some formerly alleged for king Edward VI . the greenness of the

times, the weak estate which queen Mary left the realm in, the great places and offices executed by papists, the judges, the lawyers, the justices of peace for the most part popish, the bishops firm to Rome ; from whence was to be expected the furious flashing of excommunications, and absolving the people from their obedience. Next, her private counsellors, whoever they were, persuaded her (as Camden writes) that the altering of ecclesiastical policy would move sedition.* Then was the liturgy given to a number of moderate divines, and sir Thomas Smith, a statesman, to be purged and physicked : and surely they were moderate divines indeed, neither hot nor cold ; and Grindal, the best of them, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, lost favour in the court, and I think was discharged the government of his see, for favouring the ministers, though Camden seems willing to find another cause : therefore about her second year, in a parliament of men and minds some scarce well grounded, others belching the sour crudities of yesterday's popery, those constitutions of Edward VI., which, as you heard before, no way satisfied the men that made them, are now established for best, and not to be mended. From that time followed nothing but imprisonments, troubles, disgraces on all those that found fault with the decrees of the convocation, and straight were they branded with the name of puritans. As for the queen herself, she was made believe that by putting down bishops her prerogative would be infringed, of which shall be spoken anon as the course of method brings it in : and why the prelates laboured it should be so thought, ask not them, but ask their bellies. They had found a good tabernacle, they sat under a spreading vine, their lot was fallen in a fair inheritance. And these perhaps were the chief impeachments of a more sound rectifying the church in the queen's time.

From this period I count to begin our times, which because

* Agreeably to the character of princes, Elizabeth postponed the interests of religion and humanity to her own. Her fear of sedition was greater than her hatred of error ; and it may, perhaps, be doubted whether what she did for the church was not altogether prompted by views of policy. How much or now little she believed, we have no means of knowing, but of her actions the record remains, and this shows us that she was to the last degree tyrannical, as hostile to Christian purity on the one hand as to the doctrines of Rome on the other.—ED.

they concern us more nearly, and our own eyes and ears can give us the ampler scope to judge, will require a more exact search; and to effect this the speedier, I shall distinguish such as I esteem to be the hinderers of reformation into three sorts, Antiquitarians (for so I had rather call them than antiquaries, whose labours are useful and laudable.) 2. Libertines. 3. Politicians.

To the votarists of antiquity I shall think to have fully answered, if I shall be able to prove out of antiquity, First, that if they will conform our bishops to the purer times, they must new their feathers, and their pounces, and make but curtailed bishops of them; and we know they hate to be docked and clipped, as much as to be put down outright. Secondly, that those purer times were corrupt, and their books corrupted soon after. Thirdly, that the best of those that then wrote disclaim that any man should repose on them, and send all to the scriptures.

First therefore, if those that overaffect antiquity will follow the square thereof, their bishops must be elected by the hands of the whole church. The ancientest of the extant fathers, Ignatius, writing to the Philadelphians, saith "that it belongs to them as to the church of God to choose a bishop." Let no man cavil, but take the church of God as meaning the whole consistence of orders and members, as St. Paul's epistles express, and this likewise being read over: besides this, it is there to be marked, that those Philadelphians are exhorted to choose a bishop of Antioch. Whence it seems by the way that there was not that wary limitation of diocese in those times, which is confirmed even by a fast friend of episcopacy, Camden, who cannot but love bishops as well as old coins, and his much lamented monasteries, for antiquity's sake. He writes in his description of Scotland, that "over all the world bishops had no certain diocese till pope Dionysius about the year 268 did cut them out; and that the bishops of Scotland executed their function in what place soever they came indifferently, and without distinction, till king Malcolm the Third, about the year 1070." Whence may be guessed what their function was: was it to go about circled with a band of rooking officials, with cloakebags full of citations, and processes to be served by a corporality of griffonlike promoters and apparitors? Did he go about to pitch down his court, as an

empire does his bank, to inveigle in all the money of the country? No, certainly, it would not have been permitted him to exercise any such function indifferently wherever he came. And verily some such matter it was as want of a fat diocese that kept our Britain bishops so poor in the primitive times, that being called to the council of Ariminum in the year 359, they had not wherewithal to defray the charges of their journey, but were fed and lodged upon the emperor's cost; which must needs be no accidental but usual poverty in them: for the author, Sulpitius Severos, in his 2nd book of Church History, praises them, and avouches it praiseworthy in a bishop to be so poor as to have nothing of his own. But to return to the ancient election of bishops, that it could not lawfully be without the consent of the people is so express in Cyprian, and so often to be met with, that to cite each place at large were to translate a good part of the volume; therefore touching the chief passages, I refer the rest to whom so list peruse the author himself. In the 24th epistle, "If a bishop," saith he, "be once made and allowed by the testimony and judgment of his colleagues and the people, no other can be made." In the 55th, "When a bishop is made by the suffrage of all the people in peace." In the 68th mark but what he says: "The people chiefly hath power either of choosing worthy ones, or refusing unworthy;" this he there proves by authorities out of the Old and New Testament, and with solid reasons: these were his antiquities.

This voice of the people, to be had ever in episcopal elections, was so well known before Cyprian's time, even to those that were without the church, that the emperor Alexander Severus desired to have his governors of provinces chosen in the same manner, as Lampridius can tell; so little thought it he offensive to monarchy. And if single authorities persuade not, hearken what the whole general council of Nicæa, the first and famousest of all the rest, determines, writing a synodical epistle to the African churches, to warn them of Arianism: it exhorts them to choose orthodox bishops in the place of the dead, so they be worthy, and the people choose them; whereby they seem to make the people's assent so necessary, that merit without their free choice were not sufficient to make a bishop. What would ye say now, grave fathers, if you should wake and see unworthy bishops, or rather no bishops, but

Egyptian taskmasters of ceremonies thrust purposely upon the groaning church, to the affliction and vexation of God's people? It was not of old that a conspiracy of bishops could frustrate and fob off the right of the people; for we may read how St. Martin, soon after Constantine, was made bishop of Turon in France, by the people's consent from all places thereabout, maugre all the opposition that the bishops could make. Thus went matters of the church almost 400 years after Christ, and very probably far lower: for Nicephorus Phocas, the Greek emperor, whose reign fell near the 1000th year of our Lord, having done many things tyrannically, is said by Cedrenus to have done nothing more grievous and displeasing to the people, than to have enacted that no bishop should be chosen without his will; so long did this right remain to the people in the midst of other palpable corruptions. Now for episcopal dignity, what it was, see out of Ignatius, who, in his epistle to those of Trallis, confesseth, that "the presbyters are his fellow-counsellors and fellow-benchers." And Cyprian in many places, as in the 6th, 41st, 52nd epistles, speaking of presbyters, calls them his compresbyters, as if he deemed himself no other, wheras by the same place it appears he was a bishop; he calls them brethren, but that will be thought his meekness; yea, but the presbyters and deacons writing to him think they do him honour enough, when they phrase him no higher than brother Cyprian, and dear Cyprian, in the 26th epistle. For their authority it is evident not to have been single, but depending on the counsel of the presbyters, as from Ignatius was erewhile alleged; and the same Cyprian acknowledges as much in the 6th epistle, and adds thereto, that he had determined, from his entrance into the office of bishop, to do nothing without the consent of his people; and so in the 31st epistle, for it were tedious to course through all his writings, which are so full of the like assertions, insomuch that even in the womb and centre of apostasy, Rome itself, there yet remains a glimpse of this truth; for the pope himself, as a learned English writer notes well, performeth all ecclesiastical jurisdiction as in consistory among his cardinals, which were originally but the parish priests of Rome. Thus then did the spirit of unity and meekness inspire and animate every joint and sinew of the mystical body: but now the gravest and worthiest minister, a true bishop of his fold, shall be reviled and ruffled by an insulting

and only canon-wise prelate, as if he were some slight paltry companion : and the people of God, redeemed and washed with Christ's blood, and dignified with so many glorious titles of saints and sons in the gospel, are now no better reputed than impure ethnics and lay dogs ; stones, and pillars, and crucifixes, have now the honour and the alms due to Christ's living members ; the table of communion, now become a table of separation, stands like an exalted platform upon the brow of the quire, fortified with bulwark and barricado, to keep off the profane touch of the laics, whilst the obscene and surfeited priest scruples not to paw and mammon the sacramental bread, as familiarly as his tavern biscuit. And thus the people, vilified and rejected by them, give over the earnest study of virtue and godliness, as a thing of greater purity than they need, and the search of divine knowledge as a mystery too high for their capacities, and only for churchmen to meddle with ; which is what the prelates desire, that when they have brought us back to popish blindness, we might commit to their dispose the whole managing of our salvation ; for they think it was never fair world with them since that time. But he that will mould a modern bishop into a primitive, must yield him to be elected by the popular voice, undiocesed, unrevenued, unlorded, and leave him nothing but brotherly equality, matchless temperance, frequent fasting, incessant prayer and preaching, continual watchings and labours in his ministry ; which what a rich booty it would be, what a plump endowment to the many-benefice-gaping-mouth of a prelate, what a relish it would give to his canary-sucking and swan-eating palate, let old bishop Mountain judge for me.

How little therefore those ancient times make for modern bishops hath been plainly discoursed ; but let them make for them as much as they will, yet why we ought not to stand to their arbitrement, shall now appear by a threefold corruption which will be found upon them. 1. The best times were spreadingly infected. 2. The best men of those times foully tainted. 3. The best writings of those men dangerously adulterated. These positions are to be made good out of those times witnessing of themselves. First, Ignatius in his early days testifies to the churches of Asia, that even then heresies were sprung up, and rise every where, as Eusebius relates in his 3rd book, 35th chap. after the Greek number. And Hegē-

sippus, a grave church writer of prime antiquity, affirms in the same book of Eusebius, c. 32, "that while the apostles were on earth, the depravers of doctrine did but lurk; but they once gone, with open forehead they durst preach down the truth with falsities." Yea, those that are reckoned for orthodox, began to make sad and shameful rents in the church about the trivial celebration of feasts, not agreeing when to keep Easter-day; which controversy grew so hot, that Victor, the bishop of Rome, excommunicated all the churches of Asia for no other cause, and was worthily thereof reproved by Irenæus. For can any sound theologer think, that these great fathers understood what was gospel, or what was excommunication? Doubtless that which led the good men into fraud and error was, that they attended more to the near tradition of what they heard the apostles sometimes did, than to what they had left written, not considering that many things which they did were by the apostles themselves professed to be done only for the present, and of mere indulgence to some scrupulous converts of the circumcision, but what they writ was of firm decree to all future ages. Look but a century lower in the 1st cap. of Eusebius's 8th book. What a universal tetter of impurity had envenomed every part, order, and degree of the church! to omit the lay herd, which will be little regarded, "Those that seem to be our pastors," saith he, "overturning the law of God's worship, burnt in contentions one towards another, and increasing in hatred and bitterness, outrageously sought to uphold lordship, and command as it were a tyranny." Stay but a little, magnanimous bishops, suppress your aspiring thoughts, for there is nothing wanting but Constantine to reign, and then tyranny herself shall give up her all her citadels into your hands, and count ye thenceforward her trustiest agents. Such were these that must be called the ancientest and most virgin times between Christ and Constantine. Nor was this general contagion in their actions, and not in their writings. Who is ignorant of the foul errors, the ridiculous wresting of Scripture, the heresies, the vanities thick sown through the volumes of Justin Martyr, Clemens, Origen, Tertullian, and others of eldest time? Who would think him fit to write an apology for Christian faith to the Roman senate, that would tell them "how of the angels," which he must needs mean those in Genesis, called the sons of God, "mixing with women were

begotten the devils," as good Justin Martyr in his *Apology* told them? But more indignation would it move to any Christian that shall read Tertullian, terming St. Paul a novice, and raw in grace, for reproving St. Peter at Antioch, worthy to be blamed, if we believe the epistle to the Galatians. Perhaps from this hint the blasphemous Jesuits presumed in Italy to give their judgment of St. Paul, as of a hotheaded person, as Sandys in his relations tells us.

Now besides all this, who knows not how many superstitious works are ingrafted into the legitimate writings of the fathers? And of those books that pass for authentic, who knows what hath been tempered withal, what hath been razed out, what hath been inserted? Besides the late legerdemain of the papists, that which Sulpitius writes concerning Origen's books gives us cause vehemently to suspect there hath been packing of old. In the third chapter of his 1st Dialogue we may read what wrangling the bishops and monks had about the reading or not reading of Origen; some objecting that he was corrupted by heretics; others answering that all such books had been so dealt with. How then shall I trust these times to lead me, that testify so ill of leading themselves? Certainly of their defects their own witness may be best received, but of the rectitude and sincerity of their life and doctrine, to judge rightly, we must judge by that which was to be their rule.

But it will be objected, that this was an unsettled state of the church, wanting the temporal magistrate to suppress the licence of false brethren, and the extravagancy of still new opinions; a time not imitable for church government, where the temporal and spiritual power did not close in one belief, as under Constantine. I am not of opinion to think the church a vine in this respect, because, as they take it, she cannot subsist without clasping about the elm of worldly strength and felicity, as if the heavenly city could not support itself without the props and buttresses of secular authority. They extol Constantine because he extolled them; as our homebred monks in their histories blanch the kings their benefactors, and brand those that went about to be their correctors. If he had curbed the growing pride, avarice, and luxury of the clergy, then every page of his story should have swelled with his faults, and that which Zozimus the heathen writes of him should have come in to boot: we

should have heard then in every declamation how he slew his nephew Commodus, a worthy man, his noble and eldest son Crispus, his wife Fausta, besides numbers of his friends : then his cruel exactions, his unsoundness in religion, favouring the Arians that had been condemned in a council, of which himself sat as it were president ; his hard measure and banishment of the faithful and invincible Athanasius ; his living unbaptized almost to his dying day : these blurs are too apparent in his life. But since he must needs be the load-star of reformation, as some men clatter, it will be good to see further his knowledge of religion what it was, and by that we may likewise guess at the sincerity of his times in those that were not heretical, it being likely that he would converse with the famousest prelates (for so he had made them) that were to be found for learning.

Of his Arianism we heard, and for the rest a pretty scantling of his knowledge may be taken by his deferring to be baptized so many years, a thing not usual, and repugnant to the tenor of scripture ; Philip knowing nothing that should hinder the eunuch to be baptized after profession of his belief. Next, by the excessive devotion, that I may not say superstition, both of him and his mother Helena, to find out the cross on which Christ suffered, that had long lain under the rubbish of old ruins ; (a thing which the disciples and kindred of our Saviour might with more ease have done, if they had thought it a pious duty;) some of the nails whereof he put into his helmet, to bear off blows in battle ; others he fastened among the studs of his bridle, to fulfil (as he thought or his court bishops persuaded him) the prophecy of Zechariah : “And it shall be that which is in the bridle shall be holy to the Lord.” Part of the cross, in which he thought such virtue to reside, as would prove a kind of palladium to save the city wherever it remained, he caused to be laid up in a pillar of porphyry by his statue. How he or his teachers could trifle thus with half an eye open upon St. Paul’s principles, I know not how to imagine.

How should then the dim taper of this emperor’s age that had such need of snuffing, extend any beam to our times, wherewith we might hope to be better lighted, than by those luminaries that God hath set up to shine to us far nearer

hand? And what reformation he wrought for his own time, it will not be amiss to consider. He appointed certain times for fasts and feasts, built stately churches, gave large immunities to the clergy, great riches and promotions to bishops, gave and ministered occasion to bring in a deluge of ceremonies, thereby either to draw in the heathen by a resemblance of their rites, or to set a gloss upon the simplicity and plainness of Christianity; which, to the gorgeous solemnities of paganism, and the sense of the world's children, seemed but a homely and yeomanly religion; for the beauty of inward sanctity was not within their prospect.

So that in this manner the prelates, both then and ever since, coming from a mean and plebeian life on a sudden to be lords of stately palaces, rich furniture, delicious fare, and princely attendance, thought the plain and homespun verity of Christ's gospel unfit any longer to hold their lordships' acquaintance, unless the poor threadbare matron were put into better clothes: her chaste and modest veil, surrounded with celestial beams, they overlaid with wanton tresses, and in a flaring tire bespeckled her with all the gaudy allurements of a whore.

Thus flourished the church with Constantine's wealth, and thereafter were the effects that followed: his son Constantius proved a flat Arian, and his nephew Julian an apostate, and there his race ended; the church that before by insensible degrees welked and impaired, now with large steps went down hill decaying; at this time antichrist began first to put forth his horn, and that saying was common, that former times had wooden chalices and golden priests, but they, golden chalices and wooden priests. "Formerly," saith Sulpitius, "martyrdom by glorious death was sought more greedily than now bishopries by vile ambition are hunted after," speaking of these times. And in another place, "They gape after possessions, they tend lands and livings, they cower over their gold, they buy and sell: and if there be any that neither possess nor traffic, that which is worse, they sit still, and expect gifts, and prostitute every endowment of grace, every holy thing, to sale." And in the end of his history thus he concludes: "All things went to wrack by the faction, wilfulness, and avarice of the bishops; and by this means God's people, and every good man, was had in scorn and derision;" which

St. Martin found truly to be said by his friend Sulpitius; for, being held in admiration of all men, he had only the bishops his enemies, found God less favourable to him after he was bishop than before, and for his last sixteen years would come at no bishop's meeting. Thus you see, sir, what Constantine's doings in the church brought forth, either in his own or in his son's reign.

Now, lest it should be thought that something else might ail this author thus to hamper the bishops of those days, I will bring you the opinion of three the famousest men for wit and learning that Italy at this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a received opinion, even among men professing the Romish faith, that Constantine marred all in the church. Dante, in his 19th Canto of Inferno, hath thus, as I will render it you in English blank verse:

“ Ah Constantine ! of how much ill was cause,
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
That the first wealthy pope receiv'd of thee !”

So, in his 20th Canto of Paradise, he makes the like complaint; and Petrarch seconds him in the same mind in his 108th sonnet, which is wiped out by the inquisitor in some editions; speaking of the Roman antichrist as merely bred up by Constantine:—

“ Founded in chaste and humble poverty,
'Gainst them that rais'd thee dost thou lift thy horn,
Impudent whore, where hast thou plac'd thy hope ?
In thy adulterers, or thy ill-got wealth ?
Another Constantine comes not in haste.”

Ariosto of Ferrara, after both these in time, but equal in fame, following the scope of his poem in a difficult knot how to restore Orlando, his chief hero, to his lost senses, brings Astolfo, the English knight, up into the moon, where St. John, as he feigns, met him. Cant. 34:

“ And, to be short, at last his guide him brings
Into a goodly valley, where he sees
A mighty mass of things strangely confus'd,
Things that on earth were lost, or were abus'd.”

And amongst these so abused things listen what he met withal, under the conduct of the Evangelist:

" Then pass'd he to a flowery mountain green,
Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously :
This was that gift (if you the truth will have)
That Constantine to good Sylvestro gave."

And this was a truth well known in England before this poet was born, as our Chaucer's Ploughman shall tell you by and by upon another occasion. By all these circumstances laid together, I do not see how it can be disputed what good this emperor Constantine wrought to the church ; but rather whether ever any, though perhaps not wittingly, set open a door to more mischief in Christendom. There is just cause therefore, that when the prelates cry out, Let the church be reformed according to Constantine, it should sound to judicious ear no otherwise than if they should say, Make us rich, make us lofty, make us lawless ; for if any under him were not so, thanks to those ancient remains of integrity which were not yet quite worn out, and not to his government.

Thus finally it appears, that those purer times were not such as they are cried up, and not to be followed without suspicion, doubt, and danger. The last point wherein the antiquary is to be dealt with at his own weapon, is to make it manifest that the ancientest and best of the fathers have disclaimed all sufficiency in themselves that men should rely on, and sent all comers to the scriptures, as all-sufficient : that this is true, will not be unduly gathered, by shewing what esteem they had of antiquity themselves, and what validity they thought in it to prove doctrine or discipline. I must of necessity begin from the second rank of fathers, because till then antiquity could have no plea. Cyprian in his 63d epistle : " If any," saith he, " of our ancestors, either ignorantly or out of simplicity, hath not observed that which the Lord taught us by his example," speaking of the Lord's supper, " his simplicity God may pardon of his mercy ; but we cannot be excused for following him, being instructed by the Lord." And have not we the same instructions ? and will not this holy man, with all the whole consistory of saints and martyrs that lived of old, rise up and stop our mouths in judgment, when we shall go about to fater our errors and opinions upon their authority ? In the 73d epistle he adds, " In vain do they oppose custom to us, if they be over-

come by reason ; as if custom were greater than truth, or that in spiritual things that were not to be followed which is revealed for the better by the Holy Ghost." In the 74th : "Neither ought custom to hinder that truth should not prevail ; for custom without truth is but agedness of error."

Next Lactantius, he that was preferred to have the bringing up of Constantine's children, in his second book of Institutions, chap. 7 and 8, disputes against the vain trust in antiquity, as being the chiefest argument of the heathen against the Christians : "They do not consider," saith he, "what religion is, but they are confident it is true, because the ancients delivered it ; they count it a trespass to examine it." And in the eighth : "Not because they went before us in time, therefore in wisdom ; which being given alike to all ages, cannot be prepossessed by the ancients : wherefore, seeing that to seek the truth is inbred to all, they bereave themselves of wisdom, the gift of God, who without judgment follow the ancients, and are led by others like brute beasts." St. Austin writes to Fortunatian, that "he counts it lawful, in the books of whomsoever, to reject that which he finds otherwise than true ; and so he would have others deal by him." He neither accounted, as it seems, those fathers that went before, nor himself, nor others of his rank, for men of more than ordinary spirit, that might equally deceive, and be deceived : and oftentimes setting our servile humours aside, yea, God so ordering, we may find truth with one man, as soon as in a council, as Cyprian agrees, 71st epistle : "Many things," saith he, "are better revealed to single persons." At Nicæa, in the first and best-reputed council of all the world, there had gone out a canon to divorce married priests, had not one old man, Paphnutius, stood up and reasoned against it.

Now remains it to shew clearly that the fathers refer all decision of controversy to the scriptures, as all-sufficient to direct, to resolve, and to determine. Ignatius, taking his last leave of the Asian churches, as he went to martyrdom, exhorted them to adhere close to the written doctrine of the apostles, necessarily written for posterity : so far was he from unwritten traditions, as may be read in the 36th chap. of Eusebius, 3rd book. In the 74th epistle of Cyprian against Stefan, bishop of Rome, imposing upon him a tradition ;

“ Whence,” quoth he, “ is this tradition ? Is it fetched from the authority of Christ in the gospel, or of the apostles in their epistles ? for God testifies that those things are to be done which are written.” And then thus, “ What obstinacy, what presumption is this, to prefer human tradition before divine ordinance ?” And in the same epistle : “ If we shall return to the head and beginning of divine tradition, (which we all know he means the Bible,) human error ceases ; and the reason of heavenly mysteries unfolded, whatsoever was obscure becomes clear.” And in the 14th distinct. of the same epistle, directly against our modern fantasies of a still visible church, he teaches, “ that succession of truth may fail ; to renew which, we must have recourse to the fountains ;” using this excellent similitude, “ If a channel, or conduit-pipe which brought in water plentifully before, suddenly fail, do we not go to the fountain to know the cause, whether the spring affords no more, or whether the vein be stopped, or turned aside in the midcourse ? Thus ought we to do, keeping God’s precepts, that if in aught the truth shall be changed, we may repair to the gospel and to the apostles, that thence may arise the reason of our doings, from whence our order and beginning arose.” In the 75th he inveighs bitterly against pope Stephanus, “ for that he could boast his succession from Peter, and yet foist in traditions that were not apostolical.” And in his book of the unity of the church, he compares those that, neglecting God’s word, follow the doctrines of men, to Corah, Dathan, and Abiram. The very first page of Athanasius against the Gentiles avers the scriptures to be sufficient of themselves for the declaration of truth ; and that if his friend Macarius read other religious writers, it was but φιλοκάλος, come un virtuoso, (as the Italians say,) as a lover of elegance : and in his second tome, the 39th page, after he hath reckoned up the canonical books, “ In these only,” saith he, “ is the doctrine of godliness taught ; let no man add to these, or take from these.” And in his Synopsis, having again set down all the writers of the Old and New Testament, “ These,” saith he, “ be the anchors and props of our faith.” Besides these, millions of other books have been written by great and wise men according to rule, and agreement with these, of which I will not now speak, as being of infinite number, and mere dependence on

the canonical books. Basil, in his 2nd tome, writing of true faith, tells his auditors, he is bound to teach them that which he hath learned out of the Bible: and in the same treatise he saith, "that seeing the commandments of the Lord are faithful, and sure for ever, it is a plain falling from the faith, and a high pride, either to make void anything therein, or to introduce anything not there to be found :" and he gives the reason : " For Christ saith, My sheep hear my voice : they will not follow another, but fly from him, because they know not his voice." But not to be endless in quotations, it may chance to be objected, that there be many opinions in the fathers which have no ground in scripture ; so much the less, may I say, should we follow them, for their own words shall condemn them, and acquit us, that lean not on them ; otherwise these their words will acquit them, and condemn us. But it will be replied, The scriptures are difficult to be understood, and therefore require the explanation of the fathers. It is true, there be some books, and especially some places in these books, that remain clouded ; yet ever that which is most necessary to be known is most easy ; and that which is most difficult, so far expounds itself ever, as to tell us how little it imports our saving knowledge. Hence, to infer a general obscurity over all the text, is a mere suggestion of the devil to dissuade men from reading it, and casts an aspersion of dishonour both upon the mercy, truth, and wisdom of God. We count it no gentleness or fair dealing in a man of power amongst us, to require strict and punctual obedience, and yet give out all his commands ambiguous and obscure : we should think he had a plot upon us ; certainly such commands were no commands, but snares. The very essence of truth is plainness and brightness ; the darkness and crookedness is our own. The wisdom of God created understanding, fit and proportionable to truth, the object and end of it, as the eye to the thing visible. If our understanding have a film of ignorance over it, or be blear with gazing on other false glisterings, what is that to truth ? If we will but purge with sovereign eyesalve that intellectual ray which God hath planted in us, then we would believe the scriptures protesting their own plainness and perspicuity, calling to them to be instructed, not only the wise and learned, but the simple, the poor, the babes, foretelling an extraordinary effu-

sion of God's Spirit upon every age and sex, attributing to all men, and requiring from them the ability of searching, trying, examining all things, and by the Spirit discerning that which is good ; and as the scriptures themselves pronounce their own plainness, so do the fathers testify of them.

I will not run into a paroxysm of citations again in this point, only instance Athanasius in his forementioned first page : "The knowledge of truth," saith he, "wants no human lore, as being evident in itself, and by the preaching of Christ now opens brighter than the sun." If these doctors, who had scarce half the light that we enjoy, who all, except two or three, were ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, and many of the Greek, blundering upon the dangerous and suspectful translations of the apostate Aquila, the heretical Theodotion, the judaized Symmachus, the erroneous Origin ; if these could yet find the Bible so easy, why should we doubt, that have all the helps of learning and faithful industry that man in this life can look for, and the assistance of God as near now to us as ever ? But let the scriptures be hard ; are they more hard, more crabbed, more abstruse than the fathers ? He that cannot understand the sober, plain, and unaffected style of the scriptures, will be ten times more puzzled with the knotty Africanisms, the pampered metaphors, the intricate and involved sentences of the fathers, besides the fantastic and declamatory flashes, the cross-jingling periods which cannot but disturb, and come thwart a settled devotion, worse than the din of bells and rattles.

Now, sir, for the love of holy reformation, what can be said more against these importunate clients of antiquity than she herself their patroness hath said ? Whether, think ye, would she approve still to dote upon immeasurable, innumerable, and therefore unnecessary and unmerciful volumes, choosing rather to err with the specious name of the fathers, or to take a sound truth at the hand of a plain upright man, that all his days hath been diligently reading the holy scriptures, and thereto imploring God's grace, while the admirers of antiquity have been beating their brains about their ambones, their dyptichs, and meniaias ? Now, he that cannot tell of stations and indictions, nor has wasted his precious hours in the endless conferring of councils and

conclaves that demolish one another, (although I know many of those that pretend to be great rabbies in these studies, have scarce saluted them from the strings, and the titlepage; or, to give them more, have been but the ferrets and mousehunts of an index:) yet what pastor or minister, how learned, religious, or discreet soever, does not now bring both his cheeks full blown with œcumencial and synodical, shall be counted a lank, shallow, insufficient man, yea, a dunce, and not worthy to speak about reformation of church discipline. But I trust they for whom God hath reserved the honour of reforming this church, will easily perceive their adversaries' drift in thus calling for antiquity: they fear the plain field of the scriptures; the chase is too hot; they seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forest, they would imbosk: they feel themselves struck in the transparent streams of divine truth; they would plunge, and tumble, and think to lie hid in the foul weeds and muddy waters, where no plummet can reach the bottom. But let them beat themselves like whales, and spend their oil till they be dragged ashore: though wherefore should the ministers give them so much line for shifts and delays? wherefore should they not urge only the gospel, and hold it ever in their faces like a mirror of diamond, till it dazzle and pierce their misty eyeballs? maintaining it the honour of its absolute sufficiency and supremacy inviolable: for if the scripture be for reformation, and antiquity to boot, it is but an advantage to the dozen, it is no winning cast: and though antiquity be against it, while the scriptures be for it, the cause is as good as ought to be wished, antiquity itself sitting judge.

But to draw to an end: the second sort of those that may be justly numbered among the hinderers of reformation, are libertines; these suggest that the discipline sought would be intolerable: for one bishop now in a diocese, we should then have a pope in every parish. It will not be requisite to answer these men, but only to discover them; for reason they have none, but lust and licentiousness, and therefore answer can have none. It is not any discipline that they could live under, it is the corruption and remissness of discipline that they seek. Episcopacy duly executed, yea, the Turkish and Jewish rigour against whoring and drinking,

the dear and tender discipline of a father, the sociable and loving reproof of a brother, the bosom admonition of a friend, is a presbytery, and a consistory to them. It is only the merry friar in Chaucer can dispise* them.

“ Full sweetly heard he confession,
And pleasant was his absolution,
He was an easy man to give penance.”

And so I leave them; and refer the political discourse of episcopacy to a second book.

THE SECOND BOOK.

SIR,—IT is a work good and prudent to be able to guide one man; of larger extended virtue to order well one house: but to govern a nation piously and justly, which only is to say happily, is for a spirit of the greatest size, and divinest mettle.† And certainly of no less a mind, nor of less excellency in another way, were they who by writing laid the solid and true foundations of this science, which being of greatest importance to the life of man, yet there is no art that hath been more cankered in her principles, more soiled and slubbered with aphorising pedantry, than the art of policy; and that most, where a man would think should least be, in Christian commonwealths. They teach not, that to govern well, is to train up a nation in true wisdom and virtue, and that which springs from thence, magnanimity, (take heed of that,) and that which is our begin-

* A contraction of disciple.

† If we substitute in this sentence *capacity*, for the quaint word *size*, the whole passage will be one of extraordinary eloquence. Swift has a passage analogous in some respects, but leading to a different conclusion:—

“ Not empire to the rising sun,
By valour, conduct, fortune won;
Not highest wisdom in debates
For framing laws to govern states,
Such heavenly influence require
As how to strike the Muse’s lyre.”

Milton united the wisdom of the statesman with the inspiration of the poet, and conscientiously used both for the benefit of mankind; but his example tends, with many others, to verify the doctrine of Swift, for while his poetry remains for the instruction of all ages, the influence of his political wisdom has operated but little beyond his own times; more, however, through the fault of the public than through his.—ED.

ning, regeneration, and happiest end, likeness to God, which in one word we call godliness ; and that this is the true flourishing of a land, other things follow as the shadow does the substance : to teach thus were mere pulpitory to them. This is the masterpiece of a modern politician, how to qualify and mould the sufferance and subjection of the people to the length of that foot that is to tread on their necks ; how rapine may serve itself with the fair and honourable pretences of public good ; how the puny law may be brought under the wardship and control of lust and will : in which attempt if they fall short, then must a superficial colour of reputation by all means, direct or indirect, be gotten to wash over the unsightly bruise of honour. To make men governable in this manner, their precepts mainly tend to break a national spirit and courage, by countenancing open riot, luxury, and ignorance, till having thus disfigured and made men beneath men, as Juno in the fable of Io, they deliver up the poor transformed heifer of the commonwealth to be stung and vexed with the breese and goad of oppression, under the custody of some Argus with a hundred eyes of jealousy. To be plainer, sir, how to solder, how to stop a leak, how to keep up the floating carcase of a crazy and diseased monarchy or state, betwixt wind and water, swimming still upon her own dead lees, that now is the deep design of a politician. Alas, sir ! a commonwealth ought to be but as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body ; for look what the grounds and causes are of single happiness to one man, the same ye shall find them to a whole state, as Aristotle, both in his Ethics and Politics, from the principles of reason, lays down : by consequence, therefore, that which is good and agreeable to monarchy, will appear soonest to be so, by being good and agreeable to the true welfare of every Christian ; and that which can be justly proved hurtful and offensive to every true Christian, will be evinced to be alike hurtful to monarchy : for God forbid that we should separate and distinguish the end and good of a monarch, from the end and good of the monarchy, or of that, from Christianity. How then this third and last sort that hinder reformation will justify that it stands not with reason of state, I much muse ; for certain I am, the Bible is shut against them, as certain that neither Plato nor Aristotle is for their turns.

What they can bring us now from the schools of Loyola with his Jesuits, or their Malvezzi, that can cut Tacitus into slivers and steaks, we shall presently hear. They allege, 1. That the church-government must be conformable to the civil polity ; next, That no form of church-government is agreeable to monarchy, but that of bishops. Must church-government that is appointed in the gospel, and has chief respect to the soul, be conformable and pliant to civil, that is arbitrary, and chiefly conversant about the visible and external part of man ? This is the very maxim that moulded the calves of Bethel and of Dan ; this was the quintessence of Jeroboam's policy, he made religion conform to his politic interests ; and this was the sin that watched over the Israelites till their final captivity. If this state principle come from the prelates, as they affect to be counted statists, let them look back to Eleutherius bishop of Rome, and see what he thought of the policy of England ; being required by Lucius, the first Christian king of this island, to give his counsel for the founding of religious laws, little thought he of this sage caution, but bids him betake himself to the Old and New Testament, and receive direction from them how to administer both church and commonwealth ; that he was God's vicar, and therefore to rule by God's laws ; that the edicts of Cæsar we may at all times disallow, but the statutes of God for no reason we may reject. Now certain, if church-government be taught in the gospel, as the bishops dare not deny, we may well conclude of what late standing this position is, newly calculated for the altitude of bishop-elevation, and lettuce for their lips. But by what example can they shew, that the form of church-discipline must be minted and modelled out to secular pretences ? The ancient republic of the Jews is evident to have run through all the changes of civil estate, if we survey the story from the giving of the law to the Herods ; yet did one manner of priestly government serve without inconvenience to all these temporal mutations ; it served the mild aristocracy of elective dukes, and heads of tribes joined with them ; the dictatorship of the judges, the easy or hardhanded monarchies, the domestic or foreign tyrannies : lastly, the Roman senate from without, the Jewish senate at home, with the Galilean tetrarch ; yet the Levites had some right to deal in civil affairs : but seeing the evangelical precept forbids churchmen to intermeddle with

worldly employments, what interweavings or interworkings can knit the minister and the magistrate in their several functions, to the regard of any precise correspondency ! Seeing that the churchman's office is only to teach men the Christian faith, to exhort all, to encourage the good, to admonish the bad, privately the less offender, publicly the scandalous and stubborn ; to censure and separate, from the communion of Christ's flock, the contagious and incorrigible, to receive with joy and fatherly compassion the penitent : all this must be done, and more than this is beyond any church-authority. What is all this either here or there, to the temporal regiment of weal public, whether it be popular, princely, or monarchical ? Where doth it entrench upon the temporal governor ? where does it come in his walk ? where doth it make inroad upon his jurisdiction ? Indeed if the minister's part be rightly discharged, it renders him the people more conscientiable, quiet, and easy to be governed ; if otherwise, his life and doctrine will declare him. If, therefore, the constitution of the church be already set down by divine prescript, as all sides confess, then can she not be a handmaid to wait on civil commodities and respects ; and if the nature and limits of church-discipline be such, as are either helpful to all political estates indifferently, or have no particular relation to any, then is there no necessity, nor indeed possibility, of linking the one with the other in a special conformation.

Now for their second conclusion, " That no form of church-government is agreeable to monarchy, but that of bishops," although it fall to pieces of itself by that which hath been said; yet to give them play, front and rear, it shall be my task to prove that episcopacy, with that authority which it challenges in England, is not only not agreeable, but tending to the destruction of monarchy.* While the primitive pastors of the church of God laboured faithfully in their ministry, tending only their sheep, and not seeking, but avoiding all worldly matters as clogs, and indeed derogations and debasements to

* I must abandon Milton here, for monarchy and episcopacy go so well together that they appear to have been made for each other, and when the commonwealth was established, episcopacy disappeared ; not that there is any necessary connexion between the extinction of bishops and a commonwealth, otherwise we might understand the hostility which certain sections of the church have always exhibited towards purely free states.—ED.

their high calling, little needed the princes and potentates of the earth, which way soever the gospel was spread, to study ways how to make a coherence between the church's polity and theirs: therefore, when Pilate heard once our Saviour Christ professing that "his kingdom was not of this world," he thought the man could not stand much in Cæsar's light nor much endamage the Roman empire; for if the life of Christ be hid to this world, much more is his sceptre inoperative, but in spiritual things. And thus lived, for two or three ages, the successors of the apostles. But when, through Constantine's lavish superstition, they forsook their first love, and set themselves up two gods instead, Mammon and their belly; then taking advantage of the spiritual power which they had on men's consciences, they began to cast a longing eye to get the body also, and bodily things into their command: upon which their carnal desires, the spirit daily quenching and dying in them, knew no way to keep themselves up from falling to nothing, but by bolstering and supporting their inward rottenness by a carnal and outward strength. For a while they rather privily sought opportunity, than hastily disclosed their project; but when Constantine was dead, and three or four emperors more, their drift became notorious and offensive to the whole world; for while Theodosius the younger reigned, thus writes Socrates the historian, in his 7th book, chap. 11. "Now began an ill name to stick upon the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, who beyond their priestly bounds now long ago had stepped into principality:" and this was scarce eighty years since their raising from the meanest worldly condition. Of courtesy now let any man tell me, if they draw to themselves a temporal strength and power out of Cæsar's dominion, is not Cæsar's empire thereby diminished? But this was a stolen bit, hitherto he was but a caterpillar secretly gnawing at monarchy; the next time you shall see him a wolf, a lion, lifting his paw against his raiser, as Petrarch expressed it, and finally an open enemy and subverter of the Greek empire. Philippicus and Leo, with divers other emperors after them, not without the advice of their patriarchs, and at length of a whole eastern council of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, threw the images out of churches as being decreed idolatrous.

Upon this goodly occasion, the bishop of Rome not only

seizes the city, and all the territory about, into his own hands, and makes himself lord thereof, which till then was governed by a Greek magistrate, but absolves all Italy of their tribute and obedience due to the emperor, because he obeyed God's commandment in abolishing idolatry.

Mark, sir, here, how the pope came by St. Peter's patrimony, as he feigns it; not the donation of Constantine, but idolatry and rebellion got it him. Ye need but read Sigonius, one of his own sect, to know the story at large. And now to shroud himself against a storm from the Greek continent, and provide a champion to bear him out in these practices, he takes upon him by papal sentence to unthrone Chilpericus, the rightful king of France, and gives the kingdom to Pepin, for no other cause, but that he seemed to him the more active man. If he were a friend herein to monarchy, I know not; but to the monarch I need not ask what he was.

Having thus made Pepin his fast friend, he calls him into Italy against Aistulphus the Lombard, that warred upon him for his late usurpation of Rome, as belonging to Ravenna, which he had newly won. Pepin, not unobedient to the pope's call, passing into Italy, frees him out of danger, and wins for him the whole exarchate of Ravenna; which though it had been almost immediately before the hereditary possession of that monarchy, which was his chief patron and benefactor, yet he takes and keeps it to himself as lawful prize, and given to St. Peter. What a dangerous fallacy is this, when a spiritual man may snatch to himself any temporal dignity or dominion, under pretence of receiving it for the church's use? Thus he claims Naples, Sicily, England, and what not? To be short, under show of his zeal against the errors of the Greek church, he never ceased baiting and goring the successors of his best lord Constantine, what by his barking curses and excommunications, what by his hindering the western princes from aiding them against the Saracens and Turks, unless when they humoured him; so that it may be truly affirmed, he was the subversion and fall of that monarchy which was the hoisting of him. This, besides Petrarch, whom I have cited, our Chaucer also hath observed, and gives from hence a caution to England, to beware of her bishops in time, for that their ends and aims are no more friendly to monarchy than the pope's.

This he begins in the Ploughman speaking, part ii.
stanza 28:

“The emperor yafe the pope sometime
So high lordship him about,
That at last the silly kime,
The proud pope put him out ;
So of this realm is no doubt,
But lords beware and them defend ;
For now these folks be wonders stout,
The king and lords now this amend.”

And in the next stanza, which begins the third part of the tale, he argues that they ought not to be lords :

“Moses law forbode it tho
That priests should no lordship welde,
Christ’s gospel biddeth also
That they should no lordships held :
Ne Christ’s apostles were never so bold
No such lordships to hem embrace,
But smeren her sheep and keep her fold.”

And so forward. Whether the bishops of England have deserved thus to be feared by men so wise as our Chaucer is esteemed ; and how agreeable to our monarchy and monarchs their demeanour has been, he that is but meanly read in our chronicles needs not be instructed. Have they not been as the Canaanites and Philistines to this kingdom ? What treasons, what revolts to the pope, what rebellions, and those the basest and most pretenceless, have they not been chief in ? What could monarchy think, when Becket durst challenge the custody of Rochester Castle, and the Tower of London, as appertaining to his signory ? to omit his other insolencies and affronts to regal majesty, until the lashes inflicted on the anointed body of the king, washed off the holy unction with his blood drawn by the polluted hands of bishops, abbots, and monks.

What good upholders of royalty were the bishops, when, by their rebellious opposition against king John, Normandy was lost, he himself deposed, and this kingdom made over to the pope ? When the bishop of Winchester durst tell the nobles, the pillars of the realm, that there were no peers in England, as in France, but that the king might do what he pleased, what could tyranny say more ? It would be pretty now if I should insist upon the rendering up of Tournay by Wolsey’s treason, the excommunications, cursings, and in

terdicts upon the whole land ; for haply I shall be cut off short by a reply, that these were the faults of men and their popish errors, not of episcopacy, that hath now renounced the pope, and is a protestant. Yes, sure ; as wise and famous men have suspected and feared the protestant episcopacy in England, as those that have feared the papal.

You know, sir, what was the judgment of Padre Paolo, the great Venetian antagonist of the pope, for it is extant in the hands of many men, whereby he declares his fear, that when the hierarchy of England shall light into the hands of busy and audacious men, or shall meet with princes tractable to the prelacy, then much mischief is like to ensue. And can it be nearer hand than when bishops shall openly affirm that, “No bishop no king ?” A trim paradox, and that ye may know where they have been a begging for it, I will fetch you the twin brother to it out of the Jesuits’ cell : they feeling the axe of God’s reformation, hewing at the old and hollow trunk of papacy, and finding the Spaniard their surest friend, and safest refuge, to soothe him up in his dream of a fifth monarchy, and withal to uphold the decrepit papalty, have invented this superpolitic aphorism, as one terms it, “One pope and one king.”

Surely there is not any prince in Christendom, who, hearing this rare sophistry, can choose but smile ; and if we be not blind at home, we may as well perceive that this worthy motto, “No bishop no king,” is of the same batch, and infanted out of the same fears, a mere ague-cake, coagulated of a certain fever they have, presaging their time to be but short : and now, like those that are sinking, they catch round of that which is likeliest to hold them up ; and would persuade regal power that if they dive, he must after. But what greater debasement can there be to royal dignity, whose towering and steadfast height rests upon the unmovable foundations of justice, and heroic virtue, than to chain it in a dependence of subsisting, or ruining, to the painted battlements and gaudy rottenness of prelacy, which want but one puff of the king’s to blow them down like a pasteboard house built of court-cards ? Sir, the little ado which methinks I find in untacking these pleasant sophisms, puts me into the mood to tell you a tale ere I proceed further ; and Menenius Agrippa speed us

Upon a time the body summoned all the members to meet in the guild, for the common good : (as *Æsop's chronicles* aver many stranger accidents :) the head by right takes the first seat, and next to it a huge and monstrous wen, little less than the head itself, growing to it by a narrower excrescency. The members, amazed, began to ask one another what he was that took place next their chief ? None could resolve. Whereat the wen, though unwieldy, with much ado gets up, and be-speaks the assembly to this purpose : “ That as in place he was second to the head, so by due of merit ; that he was to it an ornament, and strength, and of special near relation ; and that if the head should fail, none were fitter than himself to step into his place : therefore he thought it for the honour of the body, that such dignities and rich endowments should be decreed him, as did adorn and set out the noblest members.” To this was answered, that it should be consulted. Then was a wise and learned philosopher sent for, that knew all the charters, laws, and tenures of the body. On him it is imposed by all, as chief committee, to examine, and discuss the claim and petition of right put in by the wen ; who soon perceiving the matter, and wondering at the boldness of such a swoln tumour, “ Wilt thou,” quoth he, “ that art but a bottle of vicious and hardened excrements, contend with the lawful and freeborn members, whose certain number is set by ancient and unrepealable statute ? Head thou art none, though thou receive this huge substance from it. What office bearest thou ? what good canst thou shew by thee done to the common-weal ? ” The wen, not easily dashed, replies that his office was his glory ; for so oft as the soul would retire out of the head from over the steaming vapours of the lower parts to divine contemplation, with him she found the purest and quietest retreat, as being most remote from soil and disturbance. “ Lourdan,” quoth the philosopher, “ thy folly is as great as thy filth : know that all the faculties of the soul are confined of old to their several vessels and ventricles, from which they cannot part without dissolution of the whole body ; and that thou containest no good thing in thee, but a heap of hard and loathsome uncleanness, and art to the head a foul disfigurement and burden, when I have cut thee off, and opened thee, as by the help of these implements I will do, all men shall see.”

But to return whence was digressed : seeing that the throne of a king, as the wise king Solomon often remembers us, “ is established in justice,” which is the universal justice that Aristotle so much praises, containing in it all other virtues, it may assure us that the fall of prelacy, whose actions are so far distant from justice, cannot shake the least fringe that borders the royal canopy ; but that their standing doth continually oppose and lay battery to regal safety, shall by that which follows easily appear. Amongst many secondary and accessory causes that support monarchy, these are not of least reckoning, though common to all other states ; the love of the subjects, the multitude and valour of the people, and store of treasure. In all these things hath the kingdom been of late sore weakened, and chiefly by the prelates. First, let any man consider, that if any prince shall suffer under him a commission of authority to be exercised, till all the land groan and cry out, as against a whip of scorpions, whether this be not likely to lessen and keel the affections of the subject. Next, what numbers of faithful and freeborn Englishmen, and good Christians, have been constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, whom nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America, could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops ? O, sir, if we could but see the shape of our dear mother England, as poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appear, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her head, and tears abundantly flowing from her eyes, to behold so many of her children exposed at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity, because their conscience could not assent to things which the bishops thought indifferent ? What more binding than conscience ? What more free than indifference ? Cruel then must that indifference needs be, that shall violate the strict necessity of conscience ; merciless and inhuman that free choice and liberty that shall break asunder the bonds of religion ! Let the astrologer be dismayed at the portentous blaze of comets, and impressions in the air, as foretelling troubles and changes to states : I nall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding sign to a nation (God turn the omen from us !) than when the inhabitants, to avoid insufferable grievances at home, are enforced by heaps to forsake their native country. Now, whereas the

only remedy and amends against the depopulation and thinness of a land within, is the borrowed strength of firm alliance from without, these priestly policies of theirs having thus exhausted our domestic forces, have gone the way also to leave us as naked of our firmest and faithfulest neighbours abroad, by disparaging and alienating from us all protestant princes and commonwealths ; who are not ignorant that our prelates, and as many as they can infect, account them no better than a sort of sacrilegious and puritanical rebels, preferring the Spaniard, our deadly enemy, before them, and set all orthodox writers at nought in comparison of the Jesuits, who are indeed the only corrupters of youth and good learning : and I have heard many wise and learned men in Italy say as much. It cannot be that the strongest knot of confederacy should not daily slacken, when religion, which is the chief engagement of our league, shall be turned to their reproach. Hence it is that the prosperous and prudent states of the United Provinces, (whom we ought to love, if not for themselves, yet for our own good work in them, they having been in a manner planted and erected by us, and having been since to us the faithful watchmen and discoverers of many a popish and Austrian complotted treason, and with us the partners of many a bloody and victorious battle,) whom the similitude of manners and language, the commodity of traffic, which founded the old Burgundian league betwixt us, but chiefly religion, should bind to us immortally ; even such friends as these, out of some principles instilled into us by the prelates, have been often dismissed with distasteful answers, and sometimes unfriendly actions : nor is it to be considered to the breach of confederate nations, whose mutual interest is of such high consequence, though their merchants bicker in the East Indies ; neither is it safe, or wary, or indeed Christianly, that the French king, of a different faith, should afford our nearest allies as good protection as we. Sir, I persuade myself, if our zeal to true religion, and the brotherly usage of our truest friends, were as notorious to the world as our prelatrical schism, and captivity to rochet apophthegms, we had ere this seen our old conquerors, and afterwards liegemen, the Normans, together with the Britains, our proper colony, and all the Gas-coins that are the rightful dowry of our ancient kings, come with cap and knee, dowering the shadow of the English sceptre .

to defend them from the hot persecutions and taxes of the French. But when they come hither, and see a tympany of Spaniolized bishops swaggering in the foretop of the state, and meddling to turn and dandle the royal ball with unskilful and pedantic palms, no marvel though they think it as unsafe to commit religion and liberty to their arbitrating as to a synagogue of Jesuits.

But what do I stand reckoning upon advantages and gains lost by the misrule and turbulency of the prelates? What do I pick up so thriftily their scatterings and diminishings of the meaner subject, whilst they by their seditious practices have endangered to lose the king one third of his main stock? What have they not done to banish him from his own native country? But to speak of this as it ought, would ask a volume by itself.

Thus as they have unpeopled the kingdom by expulsion of so many thousands, as they have endeavoured to lay the skirts of it bare by disheartening and dishonouring our loyalest confederates abroad, so have they hamstrung the valour of the subject by seeking to effeminate us all at home. Well knows every wise nation, that their liberty consists in manly and honest labours, in sobriety and rigorous honour to the marriage-bed, which in both sexes should be bred up from chaste hopes to loyal enjoyments; and when the people slacken, and fall to looseness and riot, then do they as much as if they laid down their necks for some wild tyrant to get up and ride. Thus learnt Cyrus to tame the Lydians, whom by arms he could not whilst they kept themselves from luxury; with one easy proclamation to set up stews, dancing, feasting, and dicing, he made them soon his slaves. I know not what drift the prelates had, whose brokers they were to prepare, and supple us either for a foreign invasion or domestic oppression: but this I am sure, they took the ready way to despoil us both of manhood and grace at once, and that in the shamefullest and ungodliest manner, upon that day which God's law, and even our own reason hath consecrated, that we might have one day at least of seven set apart wherein to examine and increase our knowledge of God, to meditate and commune of our faith, our hope, our eternal city in heaven, and to quicken withal the study and exercise of charity; at such a time that men should be plucked from their soberest

and saddest thoughts, and by bishops, the pretended fathers of the church, instigated, by public edict, and with earnest endeavour pushed forward to gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixed dancing, is a horror to think ! Thus did the reprobate hireling priest Balaam seek to subdue the Israelites to Moab, if not by force, then by this devilish policy, to draw them from the sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald feasts of Baal-peor. Thus have they trespassed not only against the monarchy of England, but of Heaven also, as others, I doubt not, can prosecute against them.

I proceed within my own bounds to shew you next what good agents they are about the revenues and riches of the kingdom, which declare of what moment they are to monarchy, or what avail. Two leeches they have that still suck and suck the kingdom—their ceremonies and their courts. If any man will contend that ceremonies be lawful under the gospel, he may be answered otherwhere. This doubtless, that they ought to be many and overcostly, no true protestant will affirm. Now I appeal to all wise men, what an excessive waste of treasure hath been within these few years in this land, not in the expedient, but in the idolatrous erection of temples beautified exquisitely to outvie the papists, the costly and dear-bought scandals and snares of images, pictures, rich copes, gorgeous altar-cloths : and by the courses they took, and the opinions they held, it was not likely any stay would be, or any end of their madness, where a pious pretext is so ready at hand to cover their insatiate desires. What can we suppose this will come to ? What other materials than these have built up the spiritual Babel to the height of her abominations ? Believe it, sir, right truly it may be said, that Antichrist is Mammon's son. The sour leaven of human traditions, mixed in one putrefied mass with the poisonous dregs of hypocrisy in the hearts of prelates, that lie basking in the sunny warmth of wealth and promotion, is the serpent's egg that will hatch an Antichrist wheresoever, and engender the same monster as big, or little, as the lump is which breeds him. If the splendour of gold and silver begin to lord it once again in the church of England, we shall see Antichrist shortly wallow here, though his chief kennel be at Rome. If they had one thought upon God's glory, and the advancement of Christian faith, they would be a means that with these ex-

penses, thus profusely thrown away in trash, rather churches and schools might be built, where they cry out for want, and more added where too few are ; a moderate maintenance distributed to every painful minister, that now scarce sustains his family with bread, while the prelates revel like Belshazzar with their full carouses in goblets, and vessels of gold snatched from God's temple ; which (I hope) the worthy men of our land will consider. Now then for their courts. What a mass of money is drawn from the veins into the ulcers of the kingdom this way ; their extortions, their open corruptions, the multitude of hungry and ravenous harpies that swarm about their offices, declare sufficiently. And what though all this go not over sea ? It were better it did : better a penurious kingdom, than where excessive wealth flows into the graceless and injurious hands of common sponges, to the impoverishing of good and loyal men, and that by such execrable, such irreligious courses.

If the sacred and dreadful works of holy discipline, censure, penance, excommunication, and absolution, where no profane thing ought to have access, nothing to be assistant but sage and Christianly admonition, brotherly love, flaming charity and zeal ; and then according to the effects, paternal sorrow, or paternal joy, mild severity, melting compassion : if such divine ministeries as these, wherein the angel of the church represents the person of Christ Jesus, must lie prostitute to sordid fees, and not pass to and fro between our Saviour, that of free grace redeemed us, and the submissive penitent, without the truckage of perishing coin, and the butcherly execution of tormentors, rooks, and rakeshames sold to lucre ; then have the Babylonish merchants of souls just excuse. Hitherto, sir, you have heard how the prelates have weakened and withdrawn the external accomplishments of kingly prosperity, the love of the people, their multitude, their valour, their wealth ; mining and sapping the outworks and redoubts of monarchy. Now hear how they strike at the very heart and vitals.

We know that monarchy is made up of two parts, the liberty of the subject, and the supremacy of the king. I begin at the root. See what gentle and benign fathers they have been to our liberty ! Their trade being, by the same alchemy that the pope uses, to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the drossy bullion of the people's sins ; and justly fearing that the quick-

sighted protestant's eye, cleared in great part from the mist of superstition, may at one time or another look with a good judgment into these their deceitful pedlaries ; to gain as many associates of guiltiness as they can, and to infect the temporal magistrate with the like lawless, though not sacrilegious extortions, see awhile what they do ! they engage themselves to preach, and persuade an assertion for truth the most false, and to this monarchy the most pernicious and destructive that could be chosen. What more baneful to monarchy than a popular commotion ? for the dissolution of monarchy slides aptest into a democracy ; and what stirs the Englishmen, as our wisest writers have observed, sooner to rebellion, than violent and heavy hands upon their goods and purses ? Yet these devout prelates, spite of our Great Charter, and the souls of our progenitors that wrested their liberties out of the Norman gripe with their dearest blood and highest prowess, for these many years have not ceased in their pulpits wrenching and spraining the text, to set at nought and trample under foot all the most sacred and lifeblood laws, statutes, and acts of parliament, that are the holy covenant of union and marriage between the king and his realm, by proscribing and confiscating from us all the right we have to our own bodies, goods, and liberties. What is this but to blow a trumpet, and proclaim a firecross to an hereditary and perpetual civil war ? Thus much against the subjects' liberty hath been assaulted by them. Now how they have spared supremacy, or are likely hereafter to submit to it, remains lastly to be considered.

The emulation that under the old law was in the king towards the priest, is now so come about in the gospel, that all the danger is to be feared from the priest to the king. Whilst the priest's office in the law was set out with an exterior lustre of pomp and glory, kings were ambitious to be priests ; now priests, not perceiving the heavenly brightness and inward splendour of their more glorious evangelic ministry, with as great ambition affect to be kings, as in all their courses is easy to be observed. Their eyes ever eminent upon worldly matters, their desires ever thirsting after worldly employments, instead of diligent and fervent study in the Bible, they covet to be expert in canons and decretals, which may enable them to judge and interpose in temporal causes, however pretended ecclesiastical. Do they not hoard up pelf, seek to be potent in secu-

lar strength, in state affairs, in lands, lordships, and domains, to sway and carry all before them in high courts and privy-councils, to bring into their grasp the high and principal offices of the kingdom? Have they not been told of late to check the common law, to slight and brave the indiminishable majesty of our highest court, the lawgiving and sacred parliament? Do they not plainly labour to exempt churchmen from the magistrate? Yea, so presumptuously as to question and menace officers that represent the king's person for using their authority against drunken priests? The cause of protecting murderous clergymen was the first heart-burning that swelled up the audacious Becket to the pestilent and odious vexation of Henry the Second. Nay, more: have not some of their devoted scholars begun, I need not say to nibble, but openly to argue against the king's supremacy? Is not the chief of them accused out of his own book, and his late canons, to affect a certain unquestionable patriarchate, independent, and unsubordinate to the crown? From whence having first brought us to a servile state of religion and manhood, and having predisposed his conditions with the pope, that lays claim to this land, or some Pepin of his own creating, it were all as likely for him to aspire to the monarchy among us, as that the pope could find means so on the sudden both to bereave the emperor of the Roman territory with the favour of Italy, and by an unexpected friend out of France, while he was in danger to lose his new-got purchase, beyond hope to leap into the fair exarchate of Ravenna.

A good while the pope subtly acted the lamb, writing to the emperor, "my lord Tiberius, my lord Mauritius;" but no sooner did this his lord pluck at the images and idols, but he threw off his sheep's clothing, and started up a wolf, laying his paws upon the emperor's right, as forfeited to Peter. Why may not we as well, having been forewarned at home by our renowned Chaucer, and from abroad by the great and learned Padre Paolo, from the like beginnings, as we see they are, fear the like events? Certainly a wise and provident king ought to suspect a hierarchy in his realm, being ever attended, as it is, with two such greedy purveyors, ambition and usurpation; I say, he ought to suspect a hierarchy to be as dangerous and derogatory from his crown as a tetrarchy or a heptarchy. Yet now that the prelates had almost attained to

what their insolent and unbridled minds had hurried them ; to thrust the laity under the despotical rule of the monarch, that they themselves might confine the monarch to a kind of pupilage under their hierarchy, observe but how their own principles combat one another, and supplant each one his fellow.

Having fitted us only for peace, and that a servile peace, by lessening our numbers, draining our estates, enfeebling our bodies, cowing our free spirits by those ways as you have heard, their impotent actions cannot sustain themselves the least moment, unless they would rouse us up to a war fit for Cain to be the leader of, an abhorred, a cursed, a fraternal war. England and Scotland, dearest brothers both in nature and in Christ, must be set to wade in one another's blood; and Ireland, our free denizen, upon the back of us both, as occasion should serve : a piece of service that the pope and all his factors have been compassing to do ever since the Reformation.

But ever blessed be He, and ever glorified, that from his high watchtower in the heavens, discerning the crooked ways of perverse and cruel men, hath hitherto maimed and infatuated all their damnable inventions, and deluded their great wizards with a delusion fit for fools and children : had God been so minded, he could have sent a spirit of mutiny amongst us, as he did between Abimelech and the Sechemites, to have made our funerals, and slain heaps more in number than the miserable surviving remnant ; but he, when we least deserved, sent out a gentle gale and message of peace from the wings of those his cherubims that fan his mercy-seat. Nor shall the wisdom, the moderation, the Christian piety, the constancy of our nobility and commons of England, be ever forgotten, whose calm and temperate connivance could sit still and smile out the stormy bluster of men more audacious and precipitant than of solid and deep reach, until their own fury had run itself out of breath, assailing by rash and heady approaches the impregnable situation of our liberty and safety, that laughed such weak enginery to scorn, such poor drifts to make a national war of a surplice brabble, a tippet scuffle, and engage the untainted honour of English knighthood to unfurl the streaming red cross, or to rear the horrid standard of those fatal guly dragons, for so unworthy a purpose, as to force upon their fellow-subjects that which themselves are weary of,

the skeleton of a mass-book. Nor must the patience, the fortitude, the firm obedience of the nobles and people of Scotland, striving against manifold provocations; nor must their sincere and moderate proceedings hitherto be unremembered, to the shameful conviction of all their detractors.

Go on both hand in hand, O nations, never to be disunited; be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity; merit this, but seek only virtue, not to extend your limits; (for what needs to win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men?) but to settle the pure worship of God in his church, and justice in the state: then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before ye; envy shall sink to hell, craft and malice be confounded, whether it be homebred mischief or outlandish cunning: yea, other nations will then covet to serve ye, for lordship and victory are but the pages of justice and virtue. Commit securely to true wisdom the vanquishing and uncasing of craft and subtlety, which are but her two runagates: join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds; and then he that seeks to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations.

Sir, you have now at length this question for the time, and as my memory would best serve me in such a copious and vast theme, fully handled, and you yourself may judge whether prelacy be the only church-government agreeable to monarchy. Seeing therefore the perilous and confused state into which we are fallen, and that, to the certain knowledge of all men, through the irreligious pride and hateful tyranny of prelates, (as the innumerable and grievous complaints of every shire cry out,) if we will now resolve to settle affairs either according to pure religion or sound policy, we must first of all begin roundly to cashier and cut away from the public body the noisome and diseased tumour of prelacy, and come from schism to unity with our neighbour reformed sister-churches, which with the blessing of peace and pure doctrine have now long time flourished; and doubtless with all hearty joy and gratulation will meet and welcome our Christian union with them, as they have been all this while grieved at our strangeness, and little better than separation from them. And for the discipline propounded, seeing that it hath been inevitably proved, that the natural and fundamental causes of political happiness in all governments are the same, and that this church-

discipline is taught in the word of God, and, as we see, agrees according to wish with all such states as have received it; we may infallibly assure ourselves that it will as well agree with monarchy, though all the tribe of Aphorismers and Politicasters would persuade us there be secret and mysterious reasons against it. For upon the settling hereof mark what nourishing and cordial restorments to the state will follow, the ministers of the gospel attending only to the work of salvation, every one within his limited charge; besides the diffusive blessings of God upon all our actions, the king shall sit without an old disturber, a daily encroacher and intruder; shall rid his kingdom of a strong sequestered and collateral power; a confronting mitre, whose potent wealth and wakeful ambition he had just cause to hold in jealousy: not to repeat the other present evils which only their removal will remove, and because things simply pure are inconsistent in the mass of nature, nor are the elements or humours in a man's body exactly homogeneal; and hence the best-founded commonwealths and least barbarous have aimed at a certain mixture and temperament, partaking the several virtues of each other state, that each part drawing to itself may keep up a steady and even uprightness in common.

There is no civil government that hath been known, no not the Spartan, not the Roman, though both for this respect so much praised by the wise Polybius, more divinely and harmoniously tuned, more equally balanced as it were by the hand and scale of justice, than is the commonwealth of England; where, under a free and untutored monarch, the noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men, with full approbation and suffrage of the people, have in their power the supreme and final determination of highest affairs. Now if conformity of church-discipline to the civil be so desired, there can be nothing more parallel, more uniform, than when under the sovereign prince, Christ's vicegerent, using the sceptre of David, according to God's law, the godliest, the wisest, the learnedest ministers in their several charges have the instructing and disciplining of God's people, by whose full and free election they are consecrated to that holy and equal aristocracy. And why should not the piety and conscience of Englishmen, as members of the church, be trusted in the election of pastors to functions that nothing concern a monarch, as well as their

worldly wisdoms are privileged as members of the state in suffraging their knights and burgesses to matters that concern him nearly ? And if in weighing these several offices, their difference in time and quality be cast in, I know they will not turn the beam of equal judgment the moiety of a scruple. We therefore having already a kind of apostolical and ancient church election in our state, what a perverseness would it be in us of all others to retain forcibly a kind of imperious and stately election in our church ! And what a blindness to think that what is already evangelical, as it were by a happy chance in our polity, should be repugnant to that which is the same by divine command in the ministry ! Thus then we see that our ecclesiastical and political choices may consent and sort as well together without any rupture in the state, as Christians and freeholders. But as for honour, that ought indeed to be different and distinct, as either office looks a several way ; the minister whose calling and end is spiritual, ought to be honoured as a father and physician to the soul, (if he be found to be so,) with a sonlike and disciplelike reverence, which is indeed the dearest and most affectionate honour, most to be desired by a wise man, and such as will easily command a free and plentiful provision of outward necessities, without his further care of this world.

The magistrate, whose charge is to see to our persons and estates, is to be honoured with a more elaborate and personal courtship, with large salaries and stipends, that he himself may abound in those things whereof his legal justice and watchful care give us the quiet enjoyment. And this distinction of honour will bring forth a seemly and graceful uniformity over all the kingdom.

Then shall the nobles possess all the dignities and offices of temporal honour to themselves, sole lords without the improper mixture of scholastic and pusillanimous upstarts ; the parliament shall void her upper house of the same annoyances ; the common and civil laws shall be both set free, the former from the control, the other from the mere vassalage and copy-hold of the clergy.

And whereas temporal laws rather punish men when they have transgressed, than form them to be such as should transgress seldomest, we may conceive great hopes, through the showers of divine benediction watering the unmolested and

watchful pains of the ministry, that the whole inheritance of God will grow up so straight and blameless, that the civil magistrate may with far less toil and difficulty, and far more ease and delight, steer the tall and goodly vessel of the commonwealth through all the gusts and tides of the world's mutability.

Here I might have ended, but that some objections, which I have heard commonly flying about, press me to the endeavour of an answer. We must not run, they say, into sudden extremes. This is a fallacious rule, unless understood only of the actions of virtue about things indifferent: for if it be found that those two extremes be vice and virtue, falsehood and truth, the greater extremity of virtue and superlative truth we run into, the more virtuous and the more wise we become; and he that, flying from degenerate and traditional corruption, fears to shoot himself too far into the meeting embraces of a divinely warranted reformation, had better not have run at all. And for the suddenness, it cannot be feared. Who should oppose it? The papists? They dare not. The protestants otherwise affected? They were mad. There is nothing will be removed but what to them is professedly indifferent. The long affection which the people have borne to it, what for itself, what for the odiousness of prelates, is evident: from the first year of queen Elizabeth it hath still been more and more propounded, desired, and beseeched, yea, sometimes favourably forwarded by the parliaments themselves. Yet if it were sudden and swift, provided still it be from worse to better, certainly we ought to hie us from evil like a torrent, and rid ourselves of corrupt discipline, as we would shake fire out of our bosoms.

Speedy and vehement were the reformations of all the good kings of Judah, though the people had been nuzzled in idolatry ever so long before; they feared not the bugbear danger, nor the lion in the way that the sluggish and timorous politician thinks he sees; no more did our brethren of the reformed churches abroad, they ventured (God being their guide) out of rigid popery, into that which we in mockery call precise puritanism, and yet we see no inconvenience befall them.

Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full blessing, to take as much of it as we think will serve our ends, and turn

him back the rest upon his hands, lest in his anger he snatch all from us again. Next, they allege the antiquity of episcopacy through all ages. What it was in the apostles' time, that questionless it must be still ; and therein I trust the ministers will be able to satisfy the parliament. But if episcopacy be taken for prelacy, all the ages they can deduce it through, will make it no more venerable than papacy.

Most certain it is, (as all our stories bear witness,) that ever since their coming to the see of Canterbury, for near twelve hundred years, to speak of them in general, they have been in England to our souls a sad and doleful succession of illiterate and blind guides ; to our purses and goods a wasteful band of robbers, a perpetual havock and rapine ; to our state a continual hydra of mischief and molestation, the forge of discord and rebellion ; this is the trophy of their antiquity, and boasted succession through so many ages. And for those prelate-martyrs they glory of, they are to be judged what they were by the gospel, and not the gospel to be tried by them.

And it is to be noted, that if they were for bishoprics and ceremonies, it was in their prosperity and fulness of bread ; but in their persecution, which purified them, and near their death, which was their garland, they plainly disliked and condemned the ceremonies, and threw away those episcopal ornaments wherein they were installed as foolish and detestable ; for so the words of Ridley at his degradation, and his letter to Hooper, expressly shew. Neither doth the author of our church-history spare to record sadly the fall (for so he terms it) and infirmities of these martyrs, though we would deify them. And why should their martyrdom more countenance corrupt doctrine or discipline, than their subscriptions justify their treason to the royal blood of this realm, by diverting and entailing the right of the crown from the true heirs, to the houses of Northumberland and Suffolk ? which had it took effect, this present king had, in all likelihood, never sat on this throne, and the happy union of this island had been frustrated.

Lastly, whereas they add that some the learnedest of the reformed abroad admire our episcopacy ; it had been more for the strength of the argument to tell us that some of the wisest statesmen admire it, for thereby we might guess them weary of the present discipline, as offensive to their state,

which is the bug we fear : but being they are churchmen, we may rather suspect them for some prelatizing spirits that admire our bishoprics, not episcopacy.

The next objection vanishes of itself, propounding a doubt, whether a greater inconvenience would not grow from the corruption of any other discipline than from that of episcopacy. This seems an unseasonable foresight, and out of order, to defer and put off the most needful constitution of one right discipline, while we stand balancing the discommodities of two corrupt ones. First constitute that which is right, and of itself it will discover and rectify that which swerves, and easily remedy the pretended fear of having a pope in every parish, unless we call the zealous and meek censure of the church a popedom, which whoso does, let him advise how he can reject the pastorly rod and sheephook of Christ, and those cords of love, and not fear to fall under the iron sceptre of his anger, that will dash him to pieces like a potsher.

At another doubt of theirs I wonder, whether this discipline which we desire be such as can be put in practice within this kingdom ; they say it cannot stand with the common law nor with the king's safety, the government of episcopacy is now so weaved into the common law. In God's name let it weave out again ; let not human quilletts keep back divine authority. It is not the common law, nor the civil, but piety and justice that are our foundresses ; they stoop not, neither change colour for aristocracy, democracy, or monarchy, nor yet at all interrupt their just courses ; but far above the taking notice of these inferior niceties, with perfect sympathy, wherever they meet, kiss each other. Lastly, they are fearful that the discipline which will succeed cannot stand with the king's safety. Wherefore ? it is but episcopacy reduced to what it should be : were it not that the tyranny of prelates under the name of bishops had made our ears tender and startling, we might call every good minister a bishop, as every bishop, yea, the apostles themselves, are called ministers, and the angels ministering spirits, and the ministers again angels. But wherein is this propounded government so shrewd ? Because the government of assemblies will succeed. Did not the apostles govern the church by assemblies ? How should it else be catholic ? How should it have

communion? We count it sacrilege to take from the rich prelates their lands and revenues, which is sacrilege in them to keep, using them as they do; and can we think it safe to defraud the living church of God of that right which God has given her in assemblies? O but the consequence! assemblies draw to them the supremacy of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. No, surely, they draw no supremacy, but that authority which Christ, and St. Paul in his name, confers upon them. The king may still retain the same supremacy in the assemblies, as in the parliament; here he can do nothing alone against the common law, and there neither alone, nor with consent, against the scriptures. But is this all? No: this ecclesiastical supremacy draws to it the power to excommunicate kings; and then follows the worst that can be imagined. Do they hope to avoid this, by keeping prelates that have so often done it? Not to exemplify the malapert insolence of our own bishops in this kind towards our kings, I shall turn back to the primitive and pure times, which the objectors would have the rule of reformation to us.

Not an assembly, but one bishop alone, St. Ambrose of Milan, held Theodosius, the most Christian emperor, under excommunication above eight months together, drove him from the church in the presence of his nobles; which the good emperor bore with heroic humility, and never ceased by prayers and tears, till he was absolved; for which coming to the bishop with supplication into the salutatory, some out-porch of the church, he was charged by him with tyrannical madness against God, for coming into holy ground. At last, upon conditions absolved, and after great humiliation approaching to the altar to offer, (as those thrice pure times then thought meet,) he had scarce withdrawn his hand, and stood awhile, when a bold archdeacon comes in the bishop's name, and chases him from within the rails, telling him peremptorily, that the place wherein he stood was for none but the priests to enter, or to touch: and this is another piece of pure primitive divinity! Think ye, then, our bishops will forego the power of excommunication on whomsoever? No, certainly, unless to compass sinister ends, and then revoke when they see their time. And yet this most mild, though withal dreadful and inviolable prerogative of Christ's diadem, excommunication, serves for nothing with them, but to prog-

and pander for fees, or to display their pride, and sharpen their revenge, debarring men the protection of the law ; and I remember not whether in some cases it bereave not men all right to their worldly goods and inheritances, besides the denial of Christian burial. But in the evangelical and reformed use of this sacred censure, no such prostitution, no such Iscariotical drifts are to be doubted, as that spiritual doom and sentence should invade worldly possession, which is the rightful lot and portion even of the wickedest men, as frankly bestowed upon them by the all-dispensing bounty as rain and sunshine. No, no, it seeks not to bereave or destroy the body ; it seeks to save the soul by humbling the body, not by imprisonment, or pecuniary mulct, much less by stripes, or bonds, or disinheritance, but by fatherly admonishment and Christian rebuke, to cast it into godly sorrow, whose end is joy, and ingenuous bashfulness to sin : if that cannot be wrought, then as a tender mother takes her child and holds it over the pit with searing words, that it may learn to fear where danger is ; so doth excommunication as dearly and as freely, without money, use her wholesome and saving terrors : she is instant, she beseeches, by all the dear and sweet promises of salvation she entices and woos ; by all the threatenings and thunders of the law, and rejected gospel, she charges and adjures : this is all her armoury, her munition, her artillery ; then she awaits with longsufferance, and yet ardent zeal. In brief, there is no act in all the errand of God's ministers to mankind wherein passes more loverlike contestation between Christ and the soul of a regenerate man lapsing, than before, and in, and after the sentence of excommunication. As for the fogging proctorage of money, with such an eye as struck Gehazi with leprosy and Simon Magus with a curse, so does she look, and so threaten her fiery whip against that banking den of thieves that dare thus baffle, and buy and sell the awful and majestic wrinkles of her brow. He that is rightly and apostolically sped with her invisible arrow, if he can be at peace in his soul, and not smell within him the brimstone of hell, may have fair leave to tell all his bags over undiminished of the least farthing, may eat his dainties, drink his wine, use his delights, enjoy his lands and liberties, not the least skin raised, not the least hair misplaced, for all that excommunication has done : much

more may a king enjoy his rights and prerogatives undflowered, untouched, and be as absolute and complete a king, as all his royalties and revenues can make him. And therefore little did Theodosius fear a plot upon his empire, when he stood excommunicate by Saint Ambrose, though it were done either with much haughty pride, or ignorant zeal. But let us rather look upon the reformed churches beyond the seas, the Grizons, the Swisses, the Hollanders, the French, that have a supremacy to live under, as well as we: where do the churches in all these places strive for supremacy? Where do they clash and justle supremacies with the civil magistrate? In France, a more severe monarchy than ours, the protestants under this church government carry the name of the best subjects the king has; and yet presbytery, if it must be so called, does there all that it desires to do: how easy were it, if there be such great suspicion, to give no more scope to it in England! But let us not for fear of a scarecrow, or else through hatred to be reformed, stand hankering and politicizing, when God with spread hands testifies to us, and points us out the way to our peace.

Let us not be so over-credulous, unless God hath blinded us, as to trust our dear souls into the hands of men that beg so devoutly for the pride and gluttony of their own backs and bellies, that sue and solicit so eagerly, not for the saving of souls, the consideration of which can have here no place at all, but for their bishopries, deaneries, prebends, and canonries: how can these men not be corrupt, whose very cause is the bribe of their own pleading, whose mouths cannot open without the strong breath and loud stench of avarice, simony, and sacrilege, embezzling the treasury of the church on painted and gilded walls of temples, wherein God hath testified to have no delight, warming their palace kitchens, and from thence their unctious and epicurean paunches, with the alms of the blind, the lame, the impotent, the aged, the orphan, the widow? for with these the treasury of Christ ought to be, here must be his jewels bestowed, his rich cabinet must be emptied here; as the constant martyr St. Lawrence taught the Roman prætor. Sir, would you know what the remonstrance of these men would have, what their petition implies? They entreat us that we would not be weary of those insupportable grievances that our shoulders have

nitherto cracked under ; they beseech us that we would think them fit to be our justices of peace, our lords, our highest officers of state, though they come furnished with no more experience than they learnt between the cook and the manciple, or more profoundly at the college audit, or the regent house, or to come to their deepest insight, at their patron's table ; they would request us to endure still the rustling of their silken cassocks, and that we would burst our midriffs, rather than laugh to see them under sail in all their lawn and sarsenet, their shrouds and tackle, with a geometrical rhomboides upon their heads : they would bear us in hand that we must of duty still appear before them once a year in Jerusalem, like good circumcised males and females, to be taxed by the poll, to be sconced our head-money, our twopences, in their chandlerly shopbook of Easter. They pray us that it would please us to let them still hale us, and worry us with their bandogs and pursuivants ; and that it would please the parliament that they may yet have the whipping, flicing, and flaying of us in their diabolical courts, to tear the flesh from our bones, and into our wide wounds instead of balm, to pour in the oil of tartar, vitriol, and mercury : surely, a right reasonable, innocent, and soft-hearted petition. O the relenting bowels of the fathers ! Can this be granted them, unless God have smitten us with frenzy from above, and with a dazzling giddiness at noonday ? Should not those men rather be heard that come to plead against their own preferments, their worldly advantages, their own abundance ; for honour and obedience to God's word, the conversion of souls, the Christian peace of the land, and union of the reformed catholic church, the unappropriating and unmonopolizing the rewards of learning and industry, from the greasy clutch of ignorance and high feeding ? We have tried already, and miserably felt what ambition, worldly glory, and immoderate wealth, can do ; what the boisterous and contradictional hand of a temporal, earthly, and corporeal spirituality can avail to the edifying of Christ's holy church ; were it such a desperate hazard to put to the venture the universal votes of Christ's congregation, and fellowly and friendly yoke of a teaching and laborious ministry, the pastorlike and apostolic imitation of meek and unlordly discipline, the gentle and benevolent mediocrity of church-maintenance, without the

ignoble hucksterage of piddling tithes? Were it such an incurable mischief to make a little trial, what all this would do to the flourishing and growing up of Christ's mystical body? as rather to use every poor shift, and if that serve not, to threaten uproar and combustion, and shake the brand of civil discord?

O, sir, I do now feel myself inwrapped on the sudden into those mazes and labyrinths of dreadful and hideous thoughts, that which way to get out, or which way to end, I know not, unless I turn mine eyes, and with your help lift up my hands to that eternal and propitious throne, where nothing is readier than grace and refuge to the distresses of mortal suppliants: and it were a shame to leave these serious thoughts less piously than the heathen were wont to conclude their graver discourses.

Thou, therefore, that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, parent of angels and men! next, thee I implore, omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! and thou, the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things! one Tripersonal godhead! look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church, leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock; these wild boars that have broke into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the souls of thy servants. O let them not bring about their damned designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watch-word to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvoke us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of thy truth again, never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear the bird of morning sing. Be moved with pity at the afflicted state of this our shaken monarchy, that now lies labouring under her throes, and struggling against the grudges of more dreaded calamities.

O thou, that, after the impetuous rage of five bloody inundations, and the succeeding sword of intestine war, soaking the land in her own gore, didst pity the sad and ceaseless revolution of our swift and thick-coming sorrows; when we were quite breathless, of thy free grace didst motion peace, and terms of covenant with us; and having first well nigh

freed us from antichristian thralldom, didst build up this Britannic empire to a glorious and enviable height, with all her daughter-islands about her; stay us in this felicity, let not the obstinacy of our half-obedience and will-worship bring forth that viper of sedition, that for these fourscore years hath been breeding to eat through the entrails of our peace; but let her cast her abortive spawn without the danger of this travailing and throbbing kingdom: that we may still remember in our solemn thanksgivings, how for us, the northern ocean even to the frozen Thule was scattered with the proud shipwrecks of the Spanish armada, and the very maw of hell ransacked, and made to give up her concealed destruction, ere she could vent it in that horrible and damned blast.

O how much more glorious will those former deliverances appear, when we shall know them not only to have saved us from greatest miseries past, but to have reserved us for greatest happiness to come! Hitherto thou hast but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjust and tyrannous claim of thy foes; now unite us entirely, and appropriate us to thyself, tie us everlastinglly in willing homage to the prerogative of thy eternal throne.

And now we know, O thou our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the sorceries of the great whore, and have joined their plots with that sad intelligencing tyrant that mischiefs the world with his mines of Ophir, and lies thirsting to revenge his naval ruins that have larded our seas: but let them all take counsel together, and let it come to nought; let them decree, and do thou cancel it; let them gather themselves, and be scattered; let them embattle themselves, and be broken; let them embattle, and be broken, for thou art with us.

Then, amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measure to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting far from her the rags of her whole vices, may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the soberest, wisest, and most Christian people at that day,

when thou, the eternal and shortly expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through heaven and earth; where they undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country, shall receive above the inferior orders of the blessed, the regal addition of principalities, legions, and thrones into their glorious titles, and in supereminence of beatific vision, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss, in overmeasure for ever.

But they contrary, that by the impairing and diminution of the true faith, the distresses and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule, and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life, (which God grant them,) shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of hell, where, under the despiteful control, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, that in the anguish of their torture, shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot, and downtrodden vassals of perdition.

OF PRELATICAL EPISCOPACY,

AND WHETHER IT MAY BE DEDUCED FROM THE APOSTOLICAL TIMES, BY VIRTUE OF THOSE TESTIMONIES WHICH ARE ALLEGED TO THAT PURPOSE IN SOME LATE TREATISES; ONE WHEREOF GOES UNDER THE NAME OF JAMES, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

EDITOR'S PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

DR. SYMMONS, whose liberal opinions in politics and ecclesiastical affairs render him an impartial judge, speaks thus of Milton's work on Episcopacy: Having observed that Bishop Hall had published in favour of his order a work entitled "An humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament," and Archbishop Usher another treatise, called "The Apostolical Institution of Episcopacy," he goes on to observe, in answer to these "powerful and learned works: Milton wrote two pieces in the same year, the first of which he called, 'Of Prelatical Episcopacy,' and the second, 'The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy.' These, like his former controversial productions, are distinguished by force, acuteness, and erudition; but their language, though bearing a greater appearance of artifice and labour, is still evidently that of a man more conversant with the authors of Greece and Rome, than with those of his own country, and seems to be formed without sufficient attention to the genius of his native tongue. This observation will apply with very diminished force to some of his succeeding compositions: but in all of them there is an occasional recurrence of foreign idioms and of a classic inversion of phrase, not properly admissible in a language in which prepositions supply the place and office of inflexions.

"The point at issue between those polemics was the divine or the human origin of episcopacy, as a peculiar order in the church, distinct in kind and pre-eminent in degree. That an officer with the title of Episcopus, or Overseer, (corrupted at first by our ancestors into bigcop, and afterwards softened into bishop,) had existed in the church from its first construction by the apostles, was a fact which could not be denied: but while this officer was asserted by one party to have been nothing more than the president of the elders, he was affirmed by the other to have been elevated above these elders or presbyters by essential privileges, by a separate as well as by a superior jurisdiction. The temporal possessions and right of the prelacy could not properly constitute any part of the controversy. As a portion of the political system of the country, and tracing their pedigree no higher than to the civil establishment of the church, these adventitious circumstances were to be debated on the ground of expediency alone; and to blend them with the immediate and distinct object in question seems to have been an unfair practice of the puritan disputants, for the purpose of increasing the unpopularity of their adversaries. Till the church was adopted by the government, under Constantine, its officers could not be invested with civil rank or with corporate property, but the subsequent accession of political importance would not supersede their spiritual jurisdiction, and could not be denounced as incompatible, because it was not coëval with their original appointment."

OF PRELATICAL EPISCOPACY.

EPISCOPACY, as it is taken for an order in the church above a presbyter, or, as we commonly name him, the minister of a congregation, is either of divine constitution or of human. If only of human, we have the same human privilege that all men have ever had since Adam, being born free, and in the mistress island of all the British, to retain this episcopacy, or to remove it,* consulting with our own occasions and conveniences, and for the prevention of our own dangers and disquiets, in what best manner we can devise, without running at a loss, as we must needs in those stale and useless records of either uncertain or unsound antiquity; which, if we hold fast to the grounds of the reformed church, can neither skill of us, nor we of it, so oft as it would lead us to the broken reed of tradition. If it be of divine constitution, to satisfy us fully in that, the scripture only is able, it being the only book left us of divine authority, not in anything more divine than in the allsufficiency it hath to furnish us, as with all other spiritual knowledge, so with this in particular, setting out to us a perfect man of God, accomplished to all the good works of his charge: through all which book can be nowhere, either by plain text or solid reasoning, found any difference between a bishop and a presbyter, save that they be two names to signify the same order. Notwithstanding this clearness, and that by all evidence of argument, Timothy and Titus (whom our prelates claim to imitate only in the controlling part of their office) had rather the vicegerency of an apostleship committed to them, than the ordinary charge of a bishopric, as being men of an extraordinary calling; yet to verify that which St.

* This opinion is now so generally entertained, that Milton will not be thought to advance anything startling in this passage. Christianity itself, is of divine institution, but the government of the church, like the government of the state, has been left to be regulated by human prudence. Milton was hostile to episcopacy because he saw it arrayed against liberty. In our own day, many of the bishops are among the most strenuous advocates of popular rights, and our history supplies numerous examples of persons of this order who have been ready to become martyrs to the cause of freedom. The reason of Milton's animosity must be sought for in temporary causes, though even now we occasionally behold examples of individuals on the episcopal bench whose political creed would have excited wiser men's indignation.—ED.

Paul foretold of succeeding times, when men began to have itching ears, then not contented with the plentiful and wholesome fountains of the gospel, they began after their own lusts to heap to themselves teachers, and as if the divine scripture wanted a supplement, and were to be eked out, they cannot think any doubt resolved, and any doctrine confirmed, unless they run to that indigested heap and fry of authors which they call antiquity. Whatsoever time, or the heedless hand of blind chance, hath drawn down from of old to this present, in her huge drag-net, whether fish or seaweed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen, those are the fathers. Seeing, therefore, some men, deeply conversant in books, have had so little care of late to give the world a better account of their reading, than by divulging needless tractates stuffed with specious names of Ignatius and Polycarpus ; with fragments of old martyrologies and legends, to distract and stagger the multitude of credulous readers, and mislead them from their strong guards and places of safety, under the tuition of holy writ ; it came into my thoughts to persuade myself, setting all distances and nice respects aside, that I could do religion and my country no better service for the time, than doing my utmost endeavour to recall the people of God from this vain foraging after straw, and to reduce them to their firm stations under the standard of the gospel ; by making appear to them, first the insufficiency, next the inconveniency, and lastly the impiety of these gay testimonies, that their great doctors would bring them to dote on. And in performing this, I shall not strive to be more exact in method, than as their citations lead me.

First, therefore, concerning Ignatius shall be treated fully, when the author shall come to insist upon some places in his epistles. Next, to prove a succession of twenty-seven bishops from Timothy, he cites one Leontius, bishop of Magnesia, out of the 11th act of the Chalcedonian council : this is but an obscure and single witness, and for his faithful dealing who shall commend him to us, with this his catalogue of bishops ? What know we further of him, but that he might be as factious and false a bishop as Leontius of Antioch, that was a hundred years his predecessor ? For neither the praise of his wisdom or his virtue hath left him memorable to posterity, but only this doubtful relation,

which we must take at his word : and how shall this testimony receive credit from his word, whose very name had scarce been thought on but for this bare testimony ? But they will say, he was a member of the council, and that may deserve to gain him credit with us. I will not stand to argue, as yet with fair allowance I might, that we may as justly suspect there were some bad and slippery men in that council, as we know there are wont to be in our convocations : nor shall I need to plead at this time, that nothing hath been more attempted, nor with more subtlety brought about, both anciently by other heretics, and modernly by papists, than to falsify the editions of the councils, of which we have none but from our adversaries' hands, whence canons, acts, and whole spurious councils are thrust upon us ; and hard it would be to prove in all, which are legitimate, against the lawful rejection of an urgent and free disputer. But this I purpose not to take advantage of; for what avails it to wrangle about the corrupt editions of councils, wheras we know that many years ere this time, which was almost five hundred years after Christ, the councils themselves were foully corrupted with ungodly prelatism, and so far plunged into worldly ambition, as that it stood them upon long ere this to uphold their now well tasted hierarchy by what fair pretext soever they could, in like manner as they had now learned to defend many other gross corruptions by as ancient and supposed authentic tradition as episcopacy ? And what hope can we have of this whole council to warrant us a matter, four hundred years at least above their time, concerning the distinction of bishop and presbyter, wheras we find them such blind judges of things before their eyes, in their decrees of precedence between bishop and bishop, acknowledging Rome for the apostolic throne, and Peter, in that see, for the rock, the basis, and the foundation of the catholic church and faith, contrary to the interpretation of more ancient fathers ? And therefore from a mistaken text did they give to Leo, as Peter's successor, a kind of pre-eminence above the whole council, as Euagrius expresses ; (for now the pope was come to that height, as to arrogate to himself by his vicars incompetent honours;) and yet having thus yielded to Rome the universal primacy for spiritual reasons, as they thought, they

conclude their sitting with a carnal and ambitious decree, to give the second place of dignity to Constantinople from reason of state, because it was New Rome; and by like consequence doubtless of earthly privileges annexed to each other city, was the bishop thereof to take his place.

I may say again therefore, what hope can we have of such a council, as, beginning in the spirit, ended thus in the flesh? Much rather should we attend to what Eusebius, the ancientest writer extant of church-history, notwithstanding all the helps he had above these, confesses in the 4th chapter of his third book, that it was no easy matter to tell who were those that were left bishops of the churches by the apostles, more than by what a man might gather from the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the *Epistles of St. Paul*, in which number he reckons Timothy for bishop of Ephesus. So as may plainly appear, that this tradition of bishoping Timothy over Ephesus was but taken for granted out of that place in St. Paul, which was only an entreating him to tarry at Ephesus, to do something left him in charge. Now, if Eusebius, a famous writer, thought it so difficult to tell who were appointed bishops by the apostles, much more may we think it difficult to Leontius, an obscure bishop, speaking beyond his own diocese: and certainly much more hard was it for either of them to determine what kind of bishops these were, if they had so little means to know who they were; and much less reason have we to stand to their definitive sentence, seeing they have been so rash to raise up such lofty bishops and bishoprics out of places in scripture merely misunderstood. Thus while we leave the Bible to gad after the traditions of the ancients, we hear the ancients themselves confessing, that what knowledge they had in this point was such as they had gathered from the Bible.

Since therefore antiquity itself hath turned over the controversy to that sovereign book which we had fondly strangled from, we shall do better not to detain this venerable apparition of Leontius any longer, but dismiss him with his list of seven and twenty, to sleep unmolested in his former obscurity.

Now for the word *προεστώς*, it is more likely that Timothy never knew the word in that sense: it was the vanity of

those next succeeding times not to content themselves with the simplicity of scripture phrase, but must make a new lexicon, to name themselves by ; one will be called *προετώς*, or antistes, a word of precedence ; another would be termed a gnostic, as Clemens ; a third, sacerdos, or priest, and talks of altars ; which was a plain sign that their doctrine began to change, for which they must change their expressions. But that place of Justin Martyr serves rather to convince the author, than to make for him, where the name *προετώς τῶν ἀδελφῶν*, the president or pastor of the brethren, (for to what end is he their president, but to teach them ?) cannot be limited to signify a prelatical bishop, but rather communicates that Greek appellation to every ordinary presbyter : for there he tells what the Christians had wont to do in their several congregations, to read and expound, to pray and administer, all which he says the *προετώς*, or antistes, did. Are these the offices only of a bishop, or shall we think that every congregation where these things were done, which he attributes to this antistes, had a bishop present among them ? Unless they had as many antistites as presbyters, which this place rather seems to imply ; and so we may infer even from their own alleged authority, that “antistes was nothing else but presbyter.”

As for that nameless treatise of Timothy’s martyrdom, only cited by Photius that lived almost nine hundred years after Christ, it handsomely follows in that author the martyrdom of the seven sleepers, that slept (I tell you but what mine author says) three hundred and seventy and two years ; for so long they had been shut up in a cave without meat, and were found living. This story of Timothy’s Ephesian bishopric, as it follows in order, so may it for truth, if it only subsist upon its own authority, as it doth ; for Photius only saith he read it, he does not aver it. That other legendary piece found among the lives of the saints, and sent us from the shop of the Jesuits at Louvain, does but bear the name of Polycrates ; how truly, who can tell ? and shall have some more weight with us when Polycrates can persuade us of that which he affirms in the same place of Eusebius’s fifth book, that St. John was a priest, and wore the golden breastplate : and why should he convince us more with his traditions of Timothy’s

episcopacy, than he could convince Victor, bishop of Rome, with his traditions concerning the feast of Easter, who, not regarding his irrefragable instances of examples taken from Philip and his daughters that were prophetesses, or from Polycarpus, no, nor from St. John himself, excommunicated both him and all the Asian churches, for celebrating their Easter judaically? He may therefore go back to the seven bishops his kinsmen, and make his moan to them, that we esteem his traditional ware as lightly as Victor did.

Those of Theodoret, Felix, and John of Antioch, are authorities of later times, and therefore not to be received for their antiquity's sake to give in evidence concerning an allegation, wherein writers, so much their elders, we see so easily miscarry. What if they had told us that Peter, who, as they say, left Ignatius Bishop of Antioch, went afterwards to Rome, and was bishop there, as this Ignatius, and Irenæus, and all antiquity with one mouth deliver? there be nevertheless a number of learned and wise protestants, who have written, and will maintain, that Peter's being at Rome as bishop cannot stand with concordance of scripture.

Now come the epistles of Ignatius to shew us, first, that Onesimus was bishop of Ephesus; next, to assert the difference of bishop and presbyter: wherein I wonder that men, teachers of the protestant religion, make no more difficulty of imposing upon our belief a supposititious offspring of some dozen epistles, whereof five are rejected as spurious, containing in them heresies and trifles; which cannot agree in chronology with Ignatius, entitling him archbishop of Antioch Theopolis, which name of Theopolis that city had not till Justinian's time, long after, as Cedrenus mentions; which argues both the barbarous time, and the unskilful fraud of him that foisted this epistle upon Ignatius. In the epistle to those of Tarsus, he condemns them for ministers of Satan, that say, "Christ is God above all." To the Philippians, them that kept their Easter as the Asian churches, as Polycarpus did, and them that fasted upon any Saturday or Sunday, except one, he counts as those that had slain the Lord. To those of Antioch, he salutes the subdeacons, chanters, porters, and exorcists, as if these had been orders of the church in his time: those other epistles less questioned, are yet so inter-

larded with corruptions, as may justly endue us with a wholesome suspicion of the rest. As to the Trallians, he writes, that “a bishop hath power over all beyond all government and authority whatsoever.” Surely then no pope can desire more than Ignatius attributes to every bishop; but what will become then of the archbishops and primates, if every bishop in Ignatius’s judgment be as supreme as a pope? To the Ephesians, near the very place from whence they fetch their proof for episcopacy, there stands a line that casts an ill hue upon all the epistle; “Let no man err,” saith he: “unless a man be within the rays or enclosure of the altar, he is deprived of the bread of life.” I say not but this may be stretched to a figurative construction; but yet it has an ill look, especially being followed beneath with the mention of I know not what sacrifices. In the other epistle to Smyrna, wherein is written that “they should follow their bishop as Christ did his Father, and the presbytery as the apostles;” not to speak of the insulse, and ill laid comparison, this cited place lies upon the very brim of a noted corruption, which, had they that quote this passage ventured to let us read, all men would have readily seen what grain the testimony had been of, where it is said, “that it is not lawful without a bishop to baptize, nor to offer, nor to do sacrifice.” What can our church make of these phrases but scandalous? And but a little further he plainly falls to contradict the Spirit of God in Solomon, judged by the words themselves; “My son,” saith he, “honour God and the king; but I say, honour God and the bishop as high-priest, bearing the image of God according to his ruling, and of Christ according to his priesting; and after him honour the king.” Excellent Ignatius! Can ye blame the prelates for making much of this epistle? Certainly, if this epistle can serve you to set a bishop above a presbyter, it may serve you next to set him above a king. These, and other like places in abundance through all those short epistles, must either be adulterate, or else Ignatius was not Ignatius, nor a martyr, but most adulterate, and corrupt himself. In the midst, therefore, of so many forgeries, where shall we fix to dare say this is Ignatius? As for his style, who knows it, so disfigured and interrupted as it is? except they think that where they

meet with anything sound, and orthodoxal, there they find Ignatius. And then they believe him, not for his own authority, but for a truth's sake, which they derive from elsewhere : to what end then should they cite him as authentic for episcopacy, when they cannot know what is authentic in him, but by the judgment which they brought with them, and not by any judgment which they might safely learn from him ? How can they bring satisfaction from such an author, to whose very essence the reader must be fain to contribute his own understanding ? Had God ever intended that we should have sought any part of useful instruction from Ignatius, doubtless he would not have so ill provided for our knowledge, as to send him to our hands this broken and disjointed plight ; and if he intended no such thing, we do injuriously in thinking to taste better the pure evangelic manna, by seasoning our mouths with the tainted scraps and fragments of an unknown table ; and searching among the verminous and polluted rags dropped overworn from the toiling shoulders of time, with these deformedly to quilt and interlace the entire, the spotless, and undecaying robe of truth, the daughter not of time, but of Heaven, only bred up here below in Christian hearts, between two grave and holy nurses, the doctrine and discipline of the gospel.

Next follows Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who is cited to affirm, that Polycarpus "was made bishop of Smyrna by the apostles ;" and this, it may seem, none could better tell than he who had both seen and heard Polycarpus : but when did he hear him ? Himself confesses to Florinus, when he was a boy. Whether that age in Irenæus may not be liable to many mistakings ; and whether a boy may be trusted to take an exact account of the manner of a church constitution, and upon what terms, and within what limits, and with what kind of comission Polycarpus received his charge, let a man consider, ere he be credulous. It will not be denied that he might have seen Polycarpus in his youth, a man of great eminence in the church, to whom the other presbyters might give way for his virtue, wisdom, and the reverence of his age ; and so did Anicetus, bishop of Rome, even in his own city, give him a kind of priority in administering the sacrament, as may be read in Eusebius : but that we should hence

conclude a distinct and superior order from the young observation of Irenæus, nothing yet alleged can warrant us; unless we shall believe such as would face us down, that Calvin and, after him, Beza were bishops of Geneva, because that in the unsettled state of the church, while things were not fully composed, their worth and learning cast a greater share of business upon them, and directed men's eyes principally towards them: and yet these men were the dissolvers of episcopacy. We see the same necessity in state affairs; Brutus, that expelled the kings out of Rome, was for the time forced to be as it were a king himself, till matters were set in order, as in a free commonwealth. He that had seen Pericles lead the Athenians which way he listed, haply would have said he had been their prince; and yet he was but a powerful and eloquent man in a democracy, and had no more at any time than a temporary and elective sway, which was in the will of the people when to abrogate. And it is most likely that in the church, they which came after these apostolic men, being less in merit, but bigger in ambition, strove to invade those privileges by intrusion and plea of right, which Polycarpus, and others like him possessed, from the voluntary surrender of men subdued by the excellency of their heavenly gifts; which because their successors had not, and so could neither have that authority, it was their policy to divulge that the eminence which Polycarpus and his equals enjoyed, was by right of constitution, not by free will of condescending. And yet thus far Irenæus makes against them, as in that very place to call Polycarpus an apostolical presbyter. But what fidelity his relations had in general, we cannot sooner learn than by Eusebius, who, near the end of his third book, speaking of Papias, a very ancient writer, one that had heard St. John, and was known to many that had seen and been acquainted with others of the apostles, but being of a shallow wit, and not understanding those traditions which he received, filled his writings with many new doctrines, and fabulous conceits: he tells us there, that "divers ecclesiastical men, and Irenæus among the rest, while they looked at his antiquity, became infected with his errors." Now, if Irenæus was so rash as to take unexamined opinions from an author of so small capacity, when he was a man, we should be more rash ourselves to rely upon

those observations which he made when he was a boy. And this may be a sufficient reason to us why we need no longer muse at the spreading of many idle traditions so soon after the apostles, while such as this Papias had the throwing them about, and the inconsiderate zeal of the next age, that heeded more the person than the doctrine, had the gathering them up. Wherever a man, who had been any way conversant with the apostles, was to be found, thither flew all the inquisitive ears, although the exercise of right instructing was changed into the curiosity of impertinent fabling : where the mind was to be edified with solid doctrine, there the fancy was soothed with solemn stories : with less fervency was studied what St. Paul or St. John had written, than was listened to one that could say, Here he taught, here he stood, this was his stature ; and thus he went habited ; and, O happy this house that harboured him, and that cold stone whereon he rested, this village wherein he wrought such a miracle, and that pavement bedewed with the warm effusion of his last blood, that sprouted up into eternal roses to crown his martyrdom. Thus, while all their thoughts were poured out upon circumstances, and the gazing after such men as had sat at table with the apostles, (many of which Christ hath professed, yea, though they had cast out devils in his name, he will not know at the last day,) by this means they lost their time, and truanted in the fundamental grounds of saving knowledge, as was seen shortly by their writings. Lastly, for Irenæus, we have cause to think him less judicious in his reports from hand to hand of what the apostles did, when we find him so negligent in keeping the faith which they wrote, as to say in his third book 'against heresies, that "the obedience of Mary was the cause of salvation to herself and all mankind ;" and in his fifth book, that "as Eve was seduced to fly God, so the virgin Mary was persuaded to obey God, that the virgin Mary might be made the advocate of the virgin Eve." Thus if Irenæus, for his nearness to the apostles, must be the patron of episcopacy to us, it is no marvel though he be the patron of idolatry to the papist, for the same cause. To the epistle of those brethren of Smyrna, that write the martyrdom of Polycarpus, and style him an apostolical and prophetical doctor, and bishop of the church of Smyrna, I could be content to give some credit for

the great honour and affection which I see those brethren bear him ; and not undeservedly, if it be true, which they there say, that he was a prophet, and had a voice from heaven to comfort him at his death, which they could hear, but the rest could not for the noise and tumult that was in the place ; and besides, if his body were so precious to the Christians, that he was never wont to pull off his shoes for one or other that still strove to have the office, that they might come in to touch his feet, yet a light scruple or two I would gladly be resolved in : if Polycarpus (who, as they say, was a prophet that never failed in what he foretold) had declared to his friends, that he knew, by vision, he should die no other death than burning, how it came to pass that the fire, when it came to proof, would not do his work, but starting off like a full sail from the mast, did but reflect a golden light upon his unviolated limbs, exhaling such a sweet odour, as if all the incense of Arabia had been burning ; insomuch that when the billmen saw that the fire was overawed, and could not do the deed, one of them steps to him and stabs him with a sword, at which wound such abundance of blood gushed forth as quenched the fire. By all this relation it appears not how the fire was guilty of his death : and then how can his prophecy be fulfilled ? Next, how the standers-by could be so soon weary of such a glorious sight, and such a fragrant smell, as to hasten the executioner to put out the fire with the martyr's blood ; unless perhaps they thought, as in all perfumes, that the smoke wou'd be more odorous than the flame : yet these good brethren say he was bishop of Smyrna. No man questions it, if bishop and presbytēr were anciently all one : and how does it appear by anything in this testimony that they were not ? If among his other high titles of prophetical, apostolical, and most admired of those times, he be also styled bishop of the church of Smyrna in a kind of speech, which the rhetoricians call *καρ' ἐξοχὴν*, for his excellence sake, as being the most famous of all the Smyrnian presbyters ; it cannot be proved neither from this nor that other place of Irenæus, that he was therefore in distinct and monarchical order above the other presbyters ; it is more probable, that if the whole presbytery had been as renowned as he, they would have termed every one of them severally bishop of Smyrna Hence it is, that

we read sometimes of two bishops in one place; and had all the presbyters there been of like worth, we might perhaps have read of twenty.

Tertullian * accosts us next, (for Polycrates hath had his answer,) whose testimony, state but the question right, is of no more force to deduce episcopacy, than the two former. He says that the church of Smyrna had Polycarpus placed there by John, and the church of Rome, Clement ordained by Peter; and so the rest of the churches did shew what bishops they had received by the appointment of the apostles. None of this will be contradicted, for we have it out of the scripture that bishops, or presbyters, which were the same, were left by the apostles in every church, and they might perhaps give some special charge to Clement, or Polycarpus, or Linus, and put some special trust in them for the experience they had of their faith and constancy; it remains yet to be evinced out of this and the like places, which will never be, that the word bishop is otherwise taken than in the language of St. Paul and the Acts for an order above presbyters. We grant them bishops, we grant them worthy men, we grant them placed in several churches by the apostles, we grant that Irenaeus and Tertullian affirm this; but that they were placed in a superior order above the presbytery, shew from all these words why we should grant. It is not enough to say the apostle left this man bishop in Rome, and that other in Ephesus; but to shew when they altered their own decree set down by St. Paul, and made all the presbyters underlings to one bishop. But suppose Tertullian had made an imparity where none was originally, should he move us, that goes about to prove an imparity between God the Father and God the Son, as these words import in his book against

* On the character of this early Christian writer the reader will find an interesting and eloquent chapter in Father Malbranche's *Recherches de la Vérité*. Milton held him in exceedingly slight estimation, as also will most other persons who consider accurately the history of his life. His writings, however, are curious and useful, though we have outlived the period in which they were regarded with superstitious reverence. Tertullian was a man of strong imagination, but weak judgment, who fluctuated between contrary doctrines, and adopted ultimately the least philosophical system broached by the heretics of the early church. But in an historical inquiry his testimony is of some weight, and accordingly Milton uses it without scruple.—ED.

Praxeas?—“The Father is the whole substance, but the Son a derivation, and portion of the whole, as he himself professes, ‘Because the Father is greater than me.’” Believe him now for a faithful relater of tradition, whom you see such an unfaithful expounder of the scripture. Besides, in his time, all allowable tradition was now lost. For this same author whom you bring to testify the ordination of Clement to the bishopric of Rome by Peter, testifies also, in the beginning of his treatise concerning chastity, that the bishop of Rome did then use to send forth his edicts by the name of Pontifex Maximus, and Episcopus Episcoporum, Chief Priest, and Bishop of Bishops: for shame then do not urge that authority to keep up a bishop, that will necessarily engage you to set up a pope. As little can your advantage be from Hegesippus, an historian of the same time, not extant, but cited by Eusebius: his words are, that “in every city all things so stood in his time as the law, and the prophets, and our Lord did preach.” If they stood so, then stood not bishops above presbyters; for what our Lord and his disciples taught, God be thanked, we have no need to go learn of him: and you may as well hope to persuade us out of the same author, that James, the brother of our Lord, was a Nazarite, and that to him only it was lawful to enter into the holy of holies; that his food was not upon anything that had life, fish or flesh; that he used no woollen garments, but only linen, and so as he trifles on.

If therefore the tradition of the church were now grown so ridiculous, and disconsenting from the doctrine of the apostles, even in those points which were of least moment to men’s particular ends, how well may we be assured it was much more degenerated in point of episcopacy and precedence, things which could afford such plausible pretences, such commodious traverses for ambition and avarice to lurk behind!

As for those Britain bishops which you cite, take heed what you do; for our Britain bishops, less ancient than these, were remarkable for nothing more than poverty, as Sulpitius Severus and Beda can remember you of examples good store.

Lastly, (for the fabulous Metaphrastes is not worth an answer,) that authority of Clemens Alexandrinus is not to be found in all his works; and wherever it be extant, it is in con-

troversy, whether it be Clement's or no; or if it were, it says only that St. John in some places constituted bishops: questionless he did; but where does Clemens say he set them above presbyters? No man will gainsay the constitution of bishops: but the raising them to a superior and distinct order above presbyters, seeing the gospel makes them one and the same thing, a thousand such allegations as these will not give prelatical episcopacy one chapel of ease above a parish church. And thus much for this cloud I cannot say rather than petty fog of witnesses, with which episcopal men would cast a mist before us, to deduce their exalted episcopacy from apostolic times. Now, although, as all men well know, it be the wonted shift of error, and fond opinion, when they find themselves outlawed by the Bible, and forsaken of sound reason, to betake them with all speed to their old startinghole of tradition, and that wild and overgrown covert of antiquity, thinking to farm there at large room, and find good stabling, yet thus much their own deified antiquity betrays them to inform us, that tradition hath had very seldom or never the gift of persuasion; as that which church histories report of those east and western paschalists, formerly spoken of, will declare. Who would have thought that Polycarpus, on the one side, could have erred in what he saw St. John do? or Anicetus, bishop of Rome, on the other side, in what he or some of his friends might pretend to have seen St. Peter or St. Paul do? and yet neither of these could persuade either when to keep Easter. The like frivolous contention trouble the primitive English churches, while Colmanus and Wilfride on either side deducing their opinions, the one from the undeniable example of St. John, and the learned bishop Anatolius, and lastly the miraculous Columba, the other from St. Peter and the Nicene council, could gain no ground each of other, till king Oswy, perceiving no likelihood of ending the controversy that way, was fain to decide it himself, good king, with that small knowledge wherewith those times had furnished him. So when those pious Greek emperors began, as Cedrenus relates, to put down monks, and abolish images, the old idolaters, finding themselves blasted, and driven back by the prevailing light of the scripture, sent out their sturdy monks, called the Abramites, to allege for images the ~~ancient~~ fathers Dionysius, and this our objected Irenæus; nay, they were so highfrown in their antiquity, that they ~~were~~

took to bring the apostles, and Luke the evangelist, yea, Christ himself, from certain records that were then current, to patronize their idolatry : yet for all this the worthy emperor Theophilus, even in those dark times, chose rather to nourish himself and his people with the sincere milk of the gospel, than to drink from the mixed confluence of so many corrupt and poisonous waters, as tradition would have persuaded him to, by most ancient seeming authorities. In like manner all the reformed churches abroad, unthroning episcopacy, doubtless were not ignorant of these testimonies alleged to draw it in a line from the apostles' days : for surely the author will not think he hath brought us now any new authorities or considerations into the world, which the reformers in other places were not advised of : and yet we see, the intercession of all these apostolic fathers could not prevail with them to alter their resolved decree of reducing into order their usurping and over-privndered episcopants ; and God hath blessed their work this hundred years with a prosperous and steadfast, and still happy success. And this may serve to prove the insufficiency of these present episcopal testimonies, not only in themselves but in the account of those ever that have been the followers of truth. It will next behove us to consider the inconvenience we fall into, by using ourselves to be guided by these kind of testimonies. He that thinks it the part of a well-learned man to have read diligently the ancient stories of the church, and to be no stranger in the volumes of the fathers, shall have all judicious men consenting with him ; not hereby to control and new fangle the scripture, God forbid ! but to mark how corruption and apostasy crept in by degrees, and to gather up wherever we find the remaining sparks of original truth, wherewith to stop the mouths of our adversaries, and to bridle them with their own curb, who willingly pass by that which is orthodoxal in them, and studiously cull out that which is commentitious, and best for their turns, not weighing the fathers in the balance of scripture, but scripture in the balance of the fathers. If we, therefore, making first the gospel our rule and oracle, shall take the good which we light on in the fathers, and set it to oppose the evil which other men seek from them, in this way of skirmish we shall easily master all superstition and false doctrine ; but if we turn this our discreet and wary usage of them into a blind devotion towards them,

and whatsoever we find written by them ; we both forsake our own grounds and reasons which led us at first to part from Rome, that is, to hold to the scriptures against all antiquity ; we remove our cause into our adversaries' own court, and take up there those cast principles, which will soon cause us to solder up with them again ; inasmuch as believing antiquity for itself in any one point, we bring an engagement upon ourselves of assenting to all that it charges upon us. For suppose we should now, neglecting that which is clear in Scripture, that a bishop and presbyter is all one both in name and office, and that what was done by Timothy and Titus, executing an extraordinary place, as fellow-labourers with the apostles, and of a universal charge in planting Christianity through divers regions, cannot be drawn into particular and daily example ; suppose that neglecting this clearness of the text, we should, by the uncertain and corrupted writings of succeeding times determine that bishop and presbyter are different, because we dare not deny what Ignatius, or rather the Perkin Warbeck of Ignatius, says ; then must we be constrained to take upon ourselves a thousand superstitions and falsities, which the papists will prove us down in, from as good authorities, and as ancient as these that set a bishop above a presbyter. And the plain truth is, that when any of our men, of those that are wedded to antiquity, come to dispute with a papist, and leaving the scriptures put themselves without appeal to the sentence of synods and councils, using in the cause of Sion the hired soldiery of revolted Israel ; where they give the Romanists one buff, they receive two counterbuffs. Were it therefore but in this regard, every true bishop should be afraid to conquer in his cause by such authorities as these, which if we admit for the authority's sake, we open a broad passage for a multitude of doctrine, that have no ground in scripture, to break in upon us.

Lastly, I do not know, it being undeniable that there are but two ecclesiastical orders, bishops and deacons, mentioned in the gospel, how it can be less than impiety to make a demur at that, which is there so perspicuous, confronting and paralleling the sacred verity of St. Paul with the offals and sweepings of antiquity, that met as accidentally and absurdly, as Epicurus's atoms, to patch up a Leucippean Ignatius, inclining rather to make this phantasm an expounder, or indeed

a depraver of St. Paul, than St. Paul an examiner, and discoverer of this impostorship ; nor caring how slightly they put off the verdict of holy text unsalved, that says plainly there be but two orders, so they maintain the reputation of their imaginary doctor that proclaims three. Certainly if Christ's apostle have set down but two, then according to his own words, though he himself should unsay it, and not only the angel of Smyrna, but an angel from heaven, should bear us down that there be three, St. Paul has doomed him twice: " Let him be accursed ;" for Christ has pronounced that no tittle of his word shall fall to the ground : and if one jot be alterable, it is as possible that all should perish ; and this shall be our righteousness, our ample warrant, and strong assurance, both now and at the last day, never to be ashamed of, against all the heaped names of angels and martyrs, councils and fathers, urged upon us, if we have given ourselves up to be taught by the pure and living precept of God's word only ; which, without more additions, nay, with a forbidding of them hath, within itself the promise of eternal life, the end of all our wearisome labours, and all our sustaining hopes. But if any shall strive to set up his ephod and teraphim of antiquity against the brightness and perfection of the gospel ; let him fear lest he and his Baal be turned into Bosheth. And thus much may suffice to shew, that the pretended episcopacy cannot be introduced from the apostolical times.

THE
REASON OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT
URGED AGAINST PRELATY
IN TWO BOOKS.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1641.]

EDITOR'S PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

RETURNING to England from his travels on the continent, Milton found the whole nation agitated by what has been called Charles the First's episcopal war against the Scots, the direct tendency of which was to render the government and the church of England unpopular. In the parliament, likewise, a feeling unfavourable to episcopacy was springing up ; for, as Milton phrases it, "they had begun to humble the pride of the bishops." He saw the public approaching his own views of government, both in church and state ; and to advance the "good cause" took up the defence of presbytery, as more consistent, in his opinion, with those popular political institutions which it was his earnest desire to see established. Of his conduct and motives he has himself supplied the history in the Second Defence of the People of England ; and since no one can hope to better them, we shall give in his own words the origin of his controversial writings, of which this essay forms a part. "When the liberty of speech was no longer subject to control, all mouths began to be opened against the bishops, some complaining of the vices of the individuals, others of those of the order. They said it was unjust that they alone should differ from the model of other reformed churches ; that the government of the church should be according to the pattern of other churches, and particularly the word of God. This awakened all my attention and my zeal. I saw that a way was opening for the establishment of real liberty ; that the foundation was laying for the deliverance of man from the yoke of slavery and superstition ; that the principles of religion, which were the first objects of our care, would exert a salutary influence on the manners and constitution of the republic ; and as I had from my youth studied the distinction between religious and civil rights, I perceived that if I ever wished to be of use, I ought at least not to be wanting to my country, to the church, and to many of my fellow-Christians, in a crisis of so much danger ; I therefore determined to relinquish the other pursuits in which I was engaged, and to transfer the whole force of my talents and my industry to this one important object. I accordingly wrote two books to a friend concerning the reformation of the church of England. Afterwards, when two bishops of superior distinction vindicated their privileges against some principal ministers, I thought that on these topics, to the consideration of which I was led solely by my love of truth, and my reverence for Christianity, I should not probably write worse than those who were contending only for their own emolument and usurpations. I therefore answered the one in two books, of which the first is inscribed Concerning Prelatical Episcopacy, and the other, Concerning the Mode of

Ecclesiastical Government ; and I replied to the other in some Animadversions, and soon afterwards in an *Apology*. On this occasion it was supposed that I brought a timely succour to the ministers, who were hardly a match for the eloquence of their opponents ; and from that time I was actively employed in refuting any answers that appeared."

Dr. Symmons classes this work with the one immediately preceding, on Prelatical Episcopacy, and disposes of the arguments of both together ; and Toland, who took less interest in ecclesiastical affairs, observes—"The eloquence is masculine, the method natural, the sentiments are free, and the whole (God knows) appears to have a very different form from what the nonconformist divines wrote in those days, or since that time on the same subject. In the opening of the Second Book, Milton enters into some details on his own studies, which all true lovers of literature will read with delight. He expresses his intention of writing an epic poem ; but not having as yet thoroughly considered the idea, is uncertain what theme he shall select."

THE REASON OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THE PREFACE.

In the publishing of human laws, which for the most part aim not beyond the good of civil society, to set them barely forth to the people without reason or preface, like a physical prescript, or only with threatenings, as it were a lordly command, in the judgment of Pluto was thought to be done neither generously nor wisely. His advice was, seeing that persuasion certainly is a more winning and more manlike way to keep men in obedience than fear, that to such laws as were of principal moment, there should be used as an induction some well-tempered discourse, shewing how good, how gainful, how happy it must needs be to live according to honesty and justice; which being uttered with those native colours and graces of speech, as true eloquence, the daughter of virtue, can best bestow upon her mother's praises, would so incite, and in a manner charm, the multitude into the love of that which is really good, as to embrace it ever after, not of custom and awe, which most men do, but of choice and purpose, with true and constant delight. But this practice we may learn from a better and more ancient authority than any heathen writer hath to give us ; and indeed being a point of so high wisdom and worth, how could it be but we should find it in that book, within whose sacred context all wisdom is unfolded ? Moses, therefore, the only

lawgiver that we can believe to have been visibly taught of God, knowing how vain it was to write laws to men whose hearts were not first seasoned with the knowledge of God and of his works, began from the book of Genesis, as a prologue to his laws; which Josephus right well hath noted: that the nation of the Jews, reading therein the universal goodness of God to all creatures in the creation, and his peculiar favour to them in his election of Abraham, their ancestor, from whom they could derive so many blessings upon themselves, might be moved to obey sincerely, by knowing so good a reason of their obedience. If then, in the administration of civil justice, and under the obscurity of ceremonial rites, such care was had by the wisest of the heathen, and by Moses among the Jews, to instruct them at least in a general reason of that government to which their subjection was required; how much more ought the members of the church, under the gospel, seek to inform their understanding in the reason of that government which the church claims to have over them! Especially for that church hath in her immediate cure those inner parts and affections of the mind, where the seat of reason is having power to examine our spiritual knowledge, and to demand from us, in God's behalf, a service entirely reasonable. But because about the manner and order of this government, whether it ought to be presbyterial or prelatical, such endless question, or rather uproar, is arisen in this land, as may be justly termed what the fever is to the physicians, the eternal reproach of our divines, whilst other profound clerks of late, greatly, as they conceive, to the advancement of prelacy, are so earnestly meting out the Lydian proconsular Asia, to make good the prime metropolis of Ephesus, as if some of our prelates in all haste meant to change their soil, and become neighbours to the English bishop of Chalcedon; and whilst good Breerwood as busily bestirs himself in our vulgar tongue, to divide precisely the three patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch; and whether to any of these England doth belong: I shall in the meanwhile not cease to hope through the mercy and grace of Christ, the head and husband of his church, that England shortly is to belong, neither to see patriarchal nor see prelatical, but to the faithful feeding and disciplining of that ministerial order, which the blessed apostles constituted throughout the churches; and this, I shall essay to prove, can be no other

than that of presbyters and deacons. And if any man incline to think I undertake a task too difficult for my years, I trust through the supreme enlightening assistance far otherwise; for my years, be they few or many, what imports it? So they bring reason, let that be looked on: and for the task, from hence that the question in hand is so needful to be known at this time, chiefly by every meaner capacity, and contains in it the explication of many admirable and heavenly privileges reached out to us by the gospel, I conclude the task must be easy: God having to this end ordained his gospel to be the revelation of his power and wisdom in Christ Jesus. And this is one depth of his wisdom, that he could so plainly reveal so great a measure of it to the gross distorted apprehension of decayed mankind. Let others, therefore, dread and shun the scriptures for their darkness; I shall wish I may deserve to be reckoned among those who admire and dwell upon them for their clearness. And this seems to be the cause why in those places of holy writ, wherein is treated of church government, the reasons thereof are not formally and professedly set down, because to him that heeds attentively the drift and scope of Christian profession, they easily imply themselves; which thing further to explain, having now prefaced enough, I shall no longer defer.

CHAPTER I.

That Church Government is prescribed in the Gospel; and that to say otherwise is unsound.

THE first and greatest reason of church government we may securely, with the assent of many on the adverse part, affirm to be, because we find it so ordained and set out to us by the appointment of God in the scriptures; but whether this be presbyterian, or prelatical, it cannot be brought to the scanning, until I have said what is meet to some who do not think it for the ease of their inconsequent opinions, to grant that church discipline is platformed in the Bible, but that it is left to the discretion of men. To this conceit of theirs I answer, that it is both unsound and untrue; for there is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man, than is discipline. What need I instance! He that hath read with judgment of nations and common-

wealths, of cities and camps, of peace and war, sea and land, will readily agree that the flourishing and decaying of all civil societies, all the moments and turnings of human occasions are moved to and fro as upon the axle of discipline. So that whatsoever power or sway in mortal things weaker men have attributed to fortune, I durst with more confidence (the honour of Divine Providence ever saved) ascribe either to the vigour or the slackness of discipline. Nor is there any sociable perfection in this life, civil or sacred, that can be above discipline; but she is that which with her musical cords preserves and holds all the parts thereof together. Hence in those perfect armies of Cyrus in Xenophon, and Scipio in the Roman stories, the excellency of military skill was esteemed, not by the not needing, but by the readiest submitting to the edicts of their commander. And certainly discipline is not only the removal of disorder; but if any visible shape can be given to divine things, the very visible shape and image of virtue, whereby she is not only seen in the regular gestures and motions of her heavenly paces as she walks, but also makes the harmony of her voice audible to mortal ears. Yea, the angels themselves, in whom no disorder is feared, as the apostle that saw them in his rapture describes, are distinguished and quaternioned into their celestial princedoms and satrapies, according as God himself has writ his imperial decrees through the great provinces of heaven. The state also of the blessed in paradise, though never so perfect, is not therefore left without discipline, whose golden surveying reed marks out and measures every quarter and circuit of New Jerusalem. Yet is it not to be conceived, that those eternal effluences of sanctity and love in the glorified saints should by this means be confined and cloyed with repetition of that which is prescribed, but that our happiness may orb itself into a thousand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kind of eccentrical equation be, as it were, an invariable planet of joy and felicity; how much less can we believe that God would leave his frail and feeble, though not less beloved church here below, to the perpetual stumble of conjecture and disturbance in this our dark voyage, without the card and compass of discipline? Which is so hard to be of man's making, that we may see even in the guidance of a civil state to worldly happiness, it is not for every learned, or every wise man, though many of them con-

sult in common, to invent or frame a discipline : but if it be at all the work of man, it must be of such a one as is a true knower of himself, and in whom contemplation and practice, wit, prudence, fortitude, and eloquence, must be rarely met, both to comprehend the hidden causes of things, and span in his thoughts all the various effects that passion or complexion can work in man's nature ; and hereto must his hand be at defiance with gain, and his heart in all virtues heroic ; so far is it from the ken of these wretched projectors of ours, that bescrawl their pamphlets every day with new forms of government for our church. And therefore all the ancient lawgivers were either truly inspired, as Moses, or were such men as with authority enough might give it out to be so, as Minos, Lycurgus, Numa, because they wisely forethought that men would never quietly submit to such a discipline as had not more of God's hand in it than man's. To come within the narrowness of household government, observation will shew us many deep counsellors of state and judges to demean themselves incorruptly in the settled course of affairs, and many worthy preachers upright in their lives, powerful in their audience : but look upon either of these men where they are left to their own disciplining at home, and you shall soon perceive, for all their single knowledge and uprightness, how deficient they are in the regulating of their own family ; not only in what may concern the virtuous and decent composure of their minds in their several places, but, that which is of a lower and easier performance, the right possessing of the outward vessel, their body, in health or sickness, rest or labour, diet or abstinence, whereby to render it more pliant to the soul, and useful to the commonwealth : which if men were but as good to discipline themselves, as some are to tutor their horses and hawks, it could not be so gross in most households. If then it appear so hard, and so little known how to govern a house well, which is thought of so easy discharge, and for every man's undertaking, what skill of man, what wisdom, what parts can be sufficient to give laws and ordinances to the elect household of God ? If we could imagine that he had left it at random without his provident and gracious ordering, who is he so arrogant, so presumptuous, that durst dispose and guide the living ark of the Holy Ghost, though he should find it wandering in the field of Bethshemesh, without the conscious

warrant of some high calling? But no profane insolence can parallel that which our prelates dare avouch, to drive outrageously, and shatter the holy ark of the church, not borne upon their shoulders with pains and labour in the word, but drawn with rude oxen, their officials, and their own brute inventions. Let them make shows of reforming while they will, so long as the church is mounted upon the prelatical cart, and not, as it ought, between the hands of the ministers, it will but shake and totter; and he that sets to his hand, though with a good intent to hinder the shogging of it, in this unlawful waggonry wherein it rides, let him beware it be not fatal to him, as it was to Uzza. Certainly if God be the father of his family the church, wherein could he express that name more, than in training it up under his own allwise and dear economy, not turning it loose to the havoc of strangers and wolves, that would ask no better plea than this, to do in the church of Christ whatever humour, faction, policy, or licentious will would prompt them to? Again, if Christ be the church's husband, expecting her to be presented before him a pure unspotted virgin; in what could he shew his tender love to her more than in prescribing his own ways, which he best knew would be to the improvement of her health and beauty, with much greater care doubtless than the Persian king could appoint for his queen Esther those maiden dietings and set prescriptions of baths and odours, which may render her at last more amiable to his eye? For of any age or sex, most unfitly may a virgin be left to an uncertain and arbitrary education. Yea, though she be well instructed, yet is she still under a more strait tuition, especially if betrothed. In like manner the church bearing the same resemblance, it were not reason to think she should be left destitute of that care which is as necessary and proper to her as instruction. For public preaching indeed is the gift of the Spirit, working as best seems to his secret will; but discipline is the practic work of preaching directed and applied, as is most requisite, to particular duty; without which it were all one to the benefit of souls, as it would be to the cure of bodies, if all the physicians in London should get into the several pulpits of the city, and assembling all the diseased in every parish, should begin a learned lecture of pleurisies, palsies, lethargies, to which perhaps none there present were inclined; and so, without so much

as feeling one pulse, or giving the least order to any skilful apothecary, should dismiss them from time to time, some groaning, some languishing, some expiring, with this only charge, to look well to themselves, and do as they hear. Of what excellence and necessity then church-discipline is, how beyond the faculty of man to frame, and how dangerous to be left to man's invention, who would be every foot turning it to sinister ends; how properly also it is the work of God as father, and of Christ as husband, of the church, we have by thus much heard.

CHAPTER II.

*That Church Government is set down in Holy Scripture ;
and that to say otherwise is untrue.*

As therefore it is unsound to say, that God hath not appointed any set government in his church, so it is untrue. Of the time of the law there can be no doubt; for to let pass the first institution of priests and Levites, which is too clear to be insisted upon, when the temple came to be built, which in plain judgment could breed no essential change, either in religion, or in the priestly government; yet God, to shew how little he could endure that men should be tampering and contriving in his worship, though in things of less regard, gave to David for Solomon not only a pattern and model of the temple, but a direction for the courses of the priests and Levites, and for all the work of their service. At the return from the captivity things were only restored after the ordinance of Moses and David; or if the least alteration be to be found, they had with them inspired men, prophets; and it were not sober to say they did aught of moment without divine intimation. In the prophecy of Ezekiel, from the 40th chapter onward, after the destruction of the temple, God, by his prophet, seeking to wean the hearts of the Jews from their old law, to expect a new and more perfect reformation under Christ, sets out before their eyes the stately fabric and constitution of his church, with all the ecclesiastical functions appertaining: indeed the description is, as sorted best to the apprehension of those times, typical and shadowy, but in such manner as never yet came to pass, nor

ever must literally, unless we mean to annihilate the gospel. But so exquisite and lively the description is in portraying the new state of the church, and especially in those points where government seems to be most active, that both Jews and Gentiles might have good cause to be assured, that God, whenever he meant to reform the church, never intended to leave the government thereof, delineated here in such curious architecture, to be patched afterwards, and varnished over with the devices and embellishings of man's imagination.* Did God take such delight in measuring out the pillars, arches, and doors of a material temple? Was he so punctual and circumspect in lavers, altars, and sacrifices soon after to be abrogated, lest any of these should have been made contrary to his mind? Is not a far more perfect work, more agreeable to his perfections in the most perfect state of the church militant, the new alliance of God to man? Should not he rather now by his own prescribed discipline have cast his line and level upon the soul of man, which is his rational temple, and, by the divine square and compass thereof, form and regenerate in us the lovely shapes of virtues and graces, the sooner to edify and accomplish that immortal stature of Christ's body, which is his church, in all her glorious lineaments and proportions? And that this indeed God hath done for us in the gospel we shall see with open eyes, not under a veil. We may pass over the history of the Acts and other places, turning only to those epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus; where the spiritual eye may discern more godly and gracefully erected, than all the magnificence of temple or tabernacle, such a heavenly structure of evangelical discipline, so diffusive of knowledge and charity to the prosperous increase and growth of the church, that it cannot be wondered if that elegant and artful symmetry of the promised new temple in Ezekiel, and all those sumptuous things under the law, were made to signify the inward beauty and splendour of the

* It is surprising Milton should have taken this view of the matter, since every section of the Christian church has a different form of government. To contend for uniformity in this matter, would be to re-establish the papacy; for without the infallibility of the pope there is obviously no deciding what form of church government is prescribed in the gospel. Simply, in my opinion, because no form of church government is there prescribed.—ED.

Christian church thus governed. And whether this be commanded, let it now be judged. St. Paul, after his preface to the first of Timothy, which he concludes in the 17th verse with Amen, enters upon the subject of this epistle, which is to establish the church government, with a command: "This charge I commit to thee, son Timothy; according to the prophecies which went before on thee, that thou by them mightest war a good warfare." Which is plain enough thus expounded: This charge I commit to thee, wherein I now go about to instruct thee how thou shalt set up church discipline, that thou mightest war a good warfare, bearing thyself constantly and faithfully in the ministry, which, in the first to the Corinthians, is also called a warfare; and so after a kind of parenthesis concerning Hymenæus, he returns to his command, though under the mild word of exhorting, chap. ii. ver. 1, "I exhort therefore;" as if he had interrupted his former command by the occasional mention of Hymenæus. More beneath in the 14th verse of the third chapter, when he had delivered the duties of bishops or presbyters, and deacons, not once naming any other order in the church, he thus adds; "These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; (such necessity it seems there was;) but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God." From this place it may be justly asked, whether Timothy by this here written, might know what was to be known concerning the orders of church governors or no? If he might, then, in such a clear text as this, may we know too without further jangle; if he might not, then did St. Paul write insufficiently, and moreover said not true, for he saith here he might know; and I persuade myself he did know ere this was written, but that the apostle had more regard to the instruction of us, than to the informing of him. In the fifth chapter, after some other church-precepts concerning discipline, mark what a dreadful command follows, ver. 21: "I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things." And as if all were not yet sure enough, he closes up the epistle with an adjuring charge thus: "I give thee charge in the sight of God, who quickeneth all things, and before Christ Jesus, that thou keep this commandment;" that is, the old commandment concerning dis-

cipline, being the main purpose of the epistle: although Hooker would fain have this denunciation referred to the particular precept going before, because the word commandment is in the singular number, not remembering that even in the first chapter of this epistle, the word commandment is used in a plural sense, ver. 5: "Now the end of the commandment is charity;" and what more frequent than in like manner to say the law of Moses? So that either to restrain the significance too much, or too much to enlarge it, would make the adjuration either not so weighty or not so pertinent. And thus we find here that the rules of church discipline are not only commanded, but hedged about with such a terrible impalement of commands, as he that will break through wilfully to violate the least of them, must hazard the wounding of his conscience even unto death. Yet all this notwithstanding, we shall find them broken well nigh all by the fair pretenders even of the next ages. No less to the contempt of him whom they feign to be the archfounder of prelacy, St. Peter, who, by what he writes in the fifth chapter of his first epistle, should seem to be far another man than tradition reports him: there he commits to the presbyters only full authority both of feeding the flock and episcopating; and commands that obedience be given to them as to the mighty hand of God, which is his mighty ordinance. Yet all this was as nothing to repel the venturous boldness of innovation that ensued, changing the decrees of God that are immutable, as if they had been breathed by man. Nevertheless when Christ by these visions of St. John, foreshews the reformation of his church, he bids him take his reed, and mete it out again after the first pattern, for he prescribes no other. "Arise," said the angel, "and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein." What is there in the world can measure men but discipline? Our word ruling imports no less. Doctrine indeed is the measure, or at least the reason of the measure, it is true; but unless the measure be applied to that which it is to measure, how can it actually do its proper work? Whether therefore discipline be all one with doctrine, or the particular application thereof to this or that person, we all agree that doctrine must be such only as is commanded; or whether it be something really differing from

doctrine, yet was it only of God's appointment, as being the most adequate measure of the church and her children, which is here the office of a great evangelist, and the reed given him from heaven. But that part of the temple which is not thus measured, so far is it from being in God's tuition or delight, that in the following verse he rejects it; however in shew and visibility it may seem a part of his church, yet inasmuch as it lies thus unmeasured, he leaves it to be trampled by the Gentiles, that is to be polluted with idolatrous and gentilish rites and ceremonies. And that the principal reformation here foretold is already come to pass, as well in discipline as in doctrine, the state of our neighbour churches afford us to behold. Thus, through all the periods and changes of the church, it hath been proved, that God hath still reserved to himself the right of enacting church government.

CHAPTER III.

That it is dangerous and unworthy the Gospel, to hold that Church Government is to be patterned by the Law, as Bishop Andrews and the Primate of Armagh maintain.

WE may return now from this interposing difficulty thus removed, to affirm, that since church government is so strictly commanded in God's word, the first and greatest reason why we should submit thereto is, because God hath so commanded. But whether of these two, prelacy or presbytery, can prove itself to be supported by this first and greatest reason, must be the next dispute; wherein this position is to be first laid down, as granted, that I may not follow a chase rather than an argument, that one of these two, and none other, is of God's ordaining; and if it be, that ordinance must be evident in the gospel. For the imperfect and obscure institution of the law, which the apostles themselves doubt not oftentimes to vilify, cannot give rules to the complete and glorious ministration of the gospel, which looks on the law as on a child, not as on a tutor. And that the prelates have no sure foundation in the gospel, their own guiltiness doth manifest; they would not else run questing up as high as Adam to fetch their original, as it is said one of

them lately did in public. To which assertion, had I heard it, because I see they are so insatiable of antiquity, I should have gladly assented, and confessed them yet more ancient: for Lucifer, before Adam, was the first prelate angel; and both he, as is commonly thought, and our fore-father Adam, as we all know, for aspiring above their orders, were miserably degraded. But others, better advised, are content to receive their beginning from Aaron and his sons, among whom bishop Andrews of late years, and in these times the primate of Armagh, for their learning are reputed the best able to say what may be said in this opinion. The primate, in his discourse about the original of episcopacy newly revised, begins thus: "The ground of episcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern prescribed by God in the Old Testament, and partly from the imitation thercof brought in by the apostles." Herein I must entreat to be excused of the desire I have to be satisfied, how for example the ground of episcopacy is fetched partly from the example of the Old Testament, by whom next, and by whose authority. Secondly, how the church government under the gospel can be rightly called an imitation of that in the Old Testament; for that the gospel is the end and fulfilling of the law, our liberty also from the bondage of the law, I plainly read. How then the ripe age of the gospel should be put to school again, and learn to govern herself from the infancy of the law, the stronger to imitate the weaker, the freeman to follow the captive, the learned to be lessoned by the rude, will be a hard undertaking to evince from any of those principles which either art or inspiration hath written. If anything done by the apostles may be drawn howsoever to a likeness of something Mosaical, if it cannot be proved that it was done of purpose in imitation, as having the right thereof grounded in nature, and not in ceremony or type, it will little avail the matter. The whole Judaic law is either political (and to take pattern by that, no Christian nation ever thought itself obliged in conscience) or moral, which contains in it the observation of whatsoever is substantially and perpetually true and good, either in religion or course of life. That which is thus moral, besides what we fetch from those unwritten laws and ideas which nature hath engraven in us, the gospel, as stands with her dignity most, lectures to her from her own authentic

handwriting and command, not copies out from the borrowed manuscript of a subservient scroll, by way of imitating : as well might she be said in her sacrament of water, to imitate the baptism of John. What though she retain excommunication used in the synagogue, retain the morality of the Sabbath ? She does not therefore imitate the law, her underling, but perfect her. All that was morally delivered from the law to the gospel, in the office of the priests and Levites, was, that there should be a ministry set apart to teach and discipline the church ; both which duties the apostles thought good to commit to the presbyters. And if any distinction of honour were to be made among them, they directed it should be to those not that only rule well, but especially to those that labour in the word and doctrine. By which we are told that laborious teaching is the most honourable prelacy that one minister can have above another in the gospel ; if, therefore, the superiority of bishopship be grounded on the priesthood as a part of the moral law, it cannot be said to be an imitation ; for it were ridiculous that morality should imitate morality, which ever was the same thing. This very word of patterning or imitating excludes episcopacy from the solid and grave ethical law, and betrays it to be a mere child of ceremony, or likelier some misbegotten thing, that having plucked the gay feathers of her obsolete bravery, to hide her own deformed barrenness, now vaunts and glories in her stolen plumes. In the mean while, what danger there is against the very life of the gospel, to make in anything the typical law her pattern, and how impossible in that which touches the priestly government, I shall use such light as I have received to lay open. It cannot be unknown by what expressions the holy apostle St. Paul spares not to explain to us the nature and condition of the law, calling those ordinances which were the chief and essential offices of the priests, the elements and rudiments of the world, both weak and beggarly. Now to breed, and bring up the children of the promise, the heirs of liberty and grace, under such a kind of government as is professed to be but an imitation of that ministry which engendered to bondage the sons of Agar ; how can this be but a foul injury and derogation, if not a cancelling of that birthright and immunity, which Christ hath purchased for us with his blood ? For the ministration of the

law, consisting of carnal things, drew to it such a ministry as consisted of carnal respects, dignity, precedence, and the like. And such a ministry established in the gospel, as is founded upon the points and terms of superiority, and nests itself in worldly honours, will draw to it, and we see it doth, such a religion as runs back again to the old pomp and glory of the flesh : for doubtless there is a certain attraction and magnetic force betwixt the religion and the ministerial form thereof. If the religion be pure, spiritual, simple, and lowly as the gospel most truly is, such must the face of the ministry be. And in like manner, if the form of the ministry be grounded in the worldly degrees of authority, honour, temporal jurisdiction, we see with our eyes it will turn the inward power and purity of the gospel into the outward carnality of the law ; evaporating and exhaling the internal worship into empty conformities, and gay shews. And what remains then, but that we should run into as dangerous and deadly apostacy as our lamentable neighbours the papists, who, by this very snare and pitfall of imitating the ceremonial law, fell into that irrecoverable superstition, as must needs make void the covenant of salvation to them that persist in this blindness ?

CHAPTER IV.

That it is impossible to make the Priesthood of Aaron a Pattern whereon to ground Episcopacy.

THAT which was promised next is, to declare the impossibility of grounding evangelic government in the imitation of the Jewish priesthood ; which will be done by considering both the quality of the persons, and the office itself. Aaron and his sons were the princes of their tribe, before they were sanctified to the priesthood : that personal eminence, which they held above the other Levites, they received not only from their office, but partly brought it into their office ; and so from that time forward the priests were not chosen out of the whole number of the Levites, as our bishops, but were born inheritors of the dignity. Therefore, unless we shall choose our prelates only out of the nobility, and let them run in a blood, there can be no possible imitation of lording over their brethren in regard of their persons altogether unlike.

As for the office, which was a representation of Christ's own person more immediately in the high-priest, and of his whole priestly office in all the other, to the performance of which the Levites were but as servitors and deacons, it was necessary there should be a distinction of dignity between two functions of so great odds. But there being no such difference among our ministers, unless it be in reference to the deacons, it is impossible to found a prelacy upon the imitation of this priesthood: for wherein, or in what work, is the office of a prelate excellent above that of a pastor? In ordination, you will say; but flatly against Scripture: for there we know Timothy received ordination by the hands of the presbytery, notwithstanding all the vain delusions that are used to evade that testimony, and maintain an unwarrantable usurpation. But wherefore should ordination be a cause of setting up a superior degree in the church? Is not that whereby Christ became our Saviour a higher and greater work than that whereby he did ordain messengers to preach and publish him our Saviour? Every minister sustains the person of Christ in his highest work of communicating to us the mysteries of our salvation, and hath the power of binding and absolving; how should he need a higher dignity, to represent or execute that which is an inferior work in Christ? Why should the performance of ordination, which is a lower office, exalt a prelate, and not the seldom discharge of a higher and more noble office, which is preaching and administering, much rather depress him? Verily, neither the nature nor the example of ordination doth any way require an imparity between the ordainer and the ordained; for what more natural than every like to produce his like, man to beget man, fire to propagate fire? And in examples of highest opinion the ordainer is inferior to the ordained: for the pope is not made by the precedent pope, but by cardinals, who ordain and consecrate to a higher and greater office than their own.

CHAPTER V.

To the Arguments of Bishop Andrews and the Primate.

IT follows here to attend to certain objections in a little treatise lately printed among others of like sort at Oxford, and in

the title said to be out of the rude draughts of bishop Andrews: and surely they be rude draughts indeed, insomuch that it is marvel to think what his friends meant, to let come abroad such shallow reasonings with the name of a man so much bruited for learning. In the twelfth and twenty-third pages he seems most notoriously inconstant to himself; for in the former place he tells us he forbears to take any argument of prelacy from Aaron, as being the type of Christ. In the latter he can forbear no longer, but repents him of his rash gratuity, affirming, that to say, Christ being come in the flesh, his figure in the high-priest ceaseth, is the shift of an ana-baptist; and stiffly argues that Christ being as well king as priest, was as well forerembedled by the kings then, as by the high-priest: so that if his coming take away the one type, it must also the other. Marvellous piece of divinity! and well worth that the land should pay six thousand pounds a year for in a bishopric; although I read of no sophister among the Greeks that was so dear, neither Hippias nor Protagoras, nor any whom the Socratic school famously refuted without hire. Here we have the type of the king sewed to the tippet of the bishop, subtly to cast a jealousy upon the crown, as if the right of kings, like Meleager in the Metamorphosis, were no longer lived than the firebrand of prelacy. But more likely the prelates fearing (for their own guilty carriage protests they do fear) that their fair days cannot long hold, practise by possessing the king with this most false doctrine, to engage his power for them, as in his own quarrel, that when they fall they may fall in a general ruin; just as cruel Tiberius would wish:

“When I die let the earth be rolled in flames.”

But where, O bishop, doth the purpose of the law set forth Christ to us as a king? That which never was intended in the law can never be abolished as part thereof. When the law was made, there was no king: if before the law, or under the law, God by a special type in any king would forsignify the future kingdom of Christ, which is not yet visibly come; what was that to the law? The whole ceremonial law (and types can be in no law else) comprehends nothing but the propitiatory office of Christ’s priesthood, which being in substance accomplished, both law and priesthood fades away of

itself, and passes into air like a transitory vision, and the right of kings neither stands by any type nor falls. We acknowledge that the civil magistrate wears an authority of God's giving, and ought to be obeyed as his vicegerent. But to make a king a type, we say is an abusive and unskillful speech, and of a moral solidity makes it seem a ceremonial shadow : therefore your typical chain of king and priest must unlink. But is not the type of priest taken away from Christ's coming ? No, saith this famous protestant bishop of Winchester, it is not ; and he that saith it is, is an anabaptist. What think ye, readers ? Do ye not understand him ? What can be gathered hence, but that the prelate would still sacrifice ? Conceive him, readers : he would missificate. Their altars, indeed, were in a fair forwardness : and by such arguments as these they were setting up the molten calf of their mass again, and of their great hierarch the pope. For if the type of priest be not taken away, then neither of the high priest ; it were a strange beheading ; and high-priest more than one there cannot be, and that one can be no less than a pope. And this doubtless was the bent of his career, though never so covertly. Yea, but there was something else in the high-priest, besides the figure, as is plain by St. Paul's acknowledging him. It is true that in the 17th of Deuteronomy, whence this authority arises to the priest in matters too hard for the secular judges, as must needs be many in the occasions of those times, involved so with ceremonial niceties, no wonder though it be commanded to inquire at the mouth of the priests, who besides the magistrates their colleagues, had the oracle of urim to consult with. And whether the high-priest Ananias had not encroached beyond the limits of his priestly authority, or whether he used it rightly, was no time then for St. Paul to contest about. But if this instance be able to assert any right of jurisdiction to the clergy, it must impart it in common to all ministers, since it were a great folly to seek for counsel in a hard intricate scruple from a dunce prelate, when there might be found a speedier solution from a grave and learned minister, whom God hath gifted with the judgment of urim, more amply oft-times than all the prelates together ; and now in the gospel hath granted the privilege of this oraculous ephod alike to all his ministers. The reason, therefore, of imparity in the priests, being now, as is aforesaid, really annulled both in their person

and in their representative office, what right of jurisdiction soever can be from this place Levitically bequeathed, must descend upon the ministers of the gospel equally, as it finds them in all other points equal. Well, then, he is finally content to let Aaron go; Eleazar will serve his turn, as being a superior of superiors, and yet no type of Christ in Aaron's lifetime. O thou that wouldest wind into any figment or phantasm, to save thy mite! yet all this will not fadge, though it be cunningly interpolated by some second hand with crooks and emendations: hear then the type of Christ in some one particular, as of entering yearly into the holy of holies, and such-like, rested upon the high-priest only as more immediately personating our Saviour: but to resemble his whole satisfactory office, all the lineage of Aaron was no more than sufficient. And all or any of the priests, considered separately without relation to the highest, are but as a lifeless trunk, and signify nothing. And this shews the excellence of Christ's sacrifice, who at once and in one person fulfilled that which many hundreds of priests many times repeating had enough to foreshew. What other imparity there was among themselves, we may safely suppose it depended on the dignity of their birth and family, together with the circumstances of a carnal service, which might afford many priorities. And this I take to be the sum of what the bishop hath laid together to make plea for prelacy by imitation of the law: though, indeed, if it may stand, it will infer popedom all as well. Many other courses he tries, enforcing himself with much ostentation of endless genealogies, as if he were the man that St. Paul forewarns us of in Timothy, but so unvigorously, that I do not fear his winning of many to his cause, but such as doting upon great names are either over-weak, or over-sudden of faith. I shall not refuse, therefore, to learn so much prudence as I find in the Roman soldier that attended the cross, not to stand breaking of legs, when the breath is quite out of the body, but pass to that which follows. The primate of Armagh, at the beginning of his tractate, seeks to avail himself of that place in the sixty-sixth of Isaiah, "I will take of them for priests and Levites, saith the Lord," to uphold hereby such a form of superiority among the ministers of the gospel, succeeding those in the law, as the Lord's-day did the sabbath. But certain if this method may be admitted of

interpreting those prophetical passages concerning Christian times and punctual correspondence, it may with equal probability be urged upon us, that we are bound to observe some monthly solemnity answerable to the new moons, as well as the Lord's-day, which we keep in lieu of the sabbath: for in the 23rd verse the prophet joins them in the same manner together, as before he did the priests and Levites, thus: "And it shall come to pass that from one new moon to another, and from one sabbath to another, shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord." Undoubtedly with as good consequence may it be alleged from hence, that we are to solemnize some religious monthly meeting different from the sabbath, as from the other any distinct formality of ecclesiastical orders may be inferred. This rather will appear to be the lawful and unconstrained sense of the text, that God, in taking of them for priests and Levites, will not esteem them unworthy, though Gentiles, to undergo any function in the church, but will make of them a full and perfect ministry, as was that of the priests and Levites in their kind. And bishop Andrews himself, to end the controversy, sends us a candid exposition of this quoted verse from the 24th page of his said book, plainly deciding that God, by those legal names there of priests and Levites, means our presbyters and deacons; for which either ingenuous confession, or slip of his pen, we give him thanks, and withhold to him that brought these treatises into one volume, who, setting the contradictions of two learned men so near together, did not foresee. What other deducements or analogies are cited out of St. Paul, to prove a likeness between the ministers of the Old and New Testament, having tried their sinews, I judge they may pass without harm-doing to our cause. We may remember, then, that prelacy neither hath nor can have foundation in the law, nor yet in the gospel; which assertion, as being for the plainness thereof a matter of eyesight rather than of disquisition, I voluntarily omit; not forgetting, to specify this note again, that the earnest desire which the prelates have to build their hierarchy upon the sandy bottom of the law, gives us to see abundantly the little assurance which they find to rear up their high roofs by the authority of the gospel, repulsed as it were from the writings of the apostles, and driven to take sanctuary

among the Jews. Hence that open confession of the primate before mentioned : “Episcopacy is fetched partly from the pattern of the Old Testament, and partly from the New, as an imitation of the Old ;” though nothing can be more rotten in divinity than such a position as this, and is all one as to say, Episcopacy is partly of divine institution, and partly of man’s own carving. For who gave the authority to fetch more from the pattern of the law, than what the apostles had already fetched, if they fetched anything at all, as hath been proved they did not ? So was Jeroboam’s episcopacy partly from the pattern of the law, and partly from the pattern of his own carnality ; a party-coloured and a party-membered episcopacy : and what can this be less than a monstrous ? Others therefore among the prelates, perhaps not so well able to brook or rather to justify, this foul relapsing to the old law, have condescended at last to a plain confessing, that both the names and offices of bishops and presbyters at first were the same, and in the scriptures nowhere distinguished. This grants the Remonstrant in the fifth section of his Defence, and in the preface to his last short Answer. But what need respect he had whether he grant it or grant it not, whenas through all antiquity, and even in the loftiest times of prelacy, we find it granted ? Jerome, the learnedst of the fathers, hides not his opinion, that custom only, which the proverb calls a tyrant, was the maker of prelacy ; before his audacious workmanship the churches were ruled in common by the presbyters ; and such a certain truth this was esteemed, that it became a decree among the papal canons compiled by Gratian. Anslem also, of Canterbury, who, to uphold the points of his prelatism, made himself a traitor to his country, yet commenting the epistles to Titus and the Philippians, acknowledges, from the clearness of the text, what Jerome and the church rubric hath before acknowledged. He little dreamed then that the weeding-hook of reformation would after two ages pluck up his glorious poppy from insulting over the good corn. Though since, some of our British prelates, seeing themselves pressed to produce scripture, try all their cunning, if the New Testament will not help them, to frame of their own heads, as it were with wax, a kind of mimic bishop linned out to the life of a dead priesthood : or else they would strain us out a certain figurative prelate, by

wringing the collective allegory of those seven angels into seven single rochets. Howsoever, since it thus appears that custom was the creator of prelacy, being less ancient than the government of presbyters, it is an extreme folly to give them the hearing that tells us of bishops through so many ages : and if against their tedious muster of citations, sees, and successions, it be replied that wagers and church antiquities, such as are repugnant to the plain dictate of scripture, are both alike the arguments of fools, they have their answer. We rather are to cite all those ages to an arraignment before the word of God, wherefore, and what pretending, how presuming they durst alter that divine institution of presbyters, which the apostles, who were no various and inconstant men, surely had set up in the churches ; and why they choose to live by custom and catalogue, or, as St. Paul saith, by sight and visibility, rather than by faith ? But, first, I conclude from their own mouths, that God's command in scripture, which doubtless ought to be the first and greatest reason of church government, is wanting to prelacy. And certainly we have plenteous warrant in the doctrine of Christ, to determine that the want of this reason is of itself sufficient to confute all other pretences, that may be brought in favour of it.

CHAPTER VI.

That Prelacy was not set up for Prevention of Schism, as is pretended ; or if it were, that it performs not what it was first set up for, but quite the contrary.

YET because it hath the outside of a specious reason, and specious things we know are aptest to work with human lightness and frailty, even against the solidest truth that sounds not plausibly, let us think it worth the examining, for the love of infirmer Christians, of what importance this their second reason may be. Tradition they say hath taught them, that, for the prevention of growing schism, the bishop was heaved above the presbyter. And must tradition then ever thus to the world's end be the perpetual cankerworm to eat out God's commandments ? Are his decrees so inconsiderate and so fickle, that when the statutes of Solon or Lycurgus

shall prove durably good to many ages, his, in forty years, shall he found defective, ill-contrived, and for needful causes to be altered? Our Saviour and his apostles did not only foresee, but foretell and forewarn us to look for schism. Is it a thing to be imagined of God's wisdom, or at least of apostolic prudence, to set up such a government in the tenderness of the church, as should incline, or not be more able than any others to oppose itself to schism? It was well known what a bold lurker schism was, even in the household of Christ, between his own disciples and those of John the Baptist, about fasting; and early in the Acts of the Apostles the noise of schism had almost drowned the proclaiming of the gospel; yet we read not in scripture that any thought was had of making prelates, no, not in those places where dissension was most ripe. If prelacy had been then esteemed a remedy against schism, where was it more needful than in that great variance among the Corinthians, which St. Paul so laboured to reconcile? And whose eye could have found the fittest remedy sooner than his? And what could have made the remedy more available, than to have it speedily? And, lastly, what could have been more necessary, than to have written it for our instruction? Yet we see he neither commended it to us, nor used it himself. For the same division remaining there, or else bursting forth again more than twenty years after St. Paul's death, we find in Clement's epistle, of venerable authority, written to the yet factious Corinthians, that they were still governed by presbyters. And the same of other churches out of Hermas, and divers other the scholars of the apostles, by the late industry of the learned Salmasius appears. Neither yet did this worthy Clement, St. Paul's disciple, though writing to them to lay aside schism, in the least word advise them to change the presbyterian government into prelacy. And therefore if God afterward gave or permitted this insurrection of episcopacy, it is to be feared he did it in his wrath, as he gave the Israelites a king. With so good a will doth he use to alter his own chosen government once established. For mark whether this rare device of man's brain, thus preferred before the ordinance of God, had better success than fleshly wisdom, not counselling with God, is wont to have. So far was it from removing schism, that if schism parted the con-

gregations before, now it rent and mangled, now it raged. Heresy begat heresy with a certain monstrous haste of pregnancy in her birth, at once born and bringing forth. Contentions, before brotherly, were now hostile. Men went to choose their bishop as they went to a pitched field, and the day of his election was like the sacking of a city, sometimes ended with the blood of thousands. Nor this among heretics only, but men of the same belief, yea, confessors; and that with such odious ambition, that Eusebius, in his eighth book, testifies he abhorred to write. And the reason is not obscure, for the poor dignity, or rather burden, of a parochial presbyter could not engage any great party, nor that to any deadly feud: but prelacy was a power of that extent and sway, that if her election were popular, it was seldom not the cause of some faction or broil in the church. But if her dignity came by favour of some prince, she was from that time his creature, and obnoxious to comply with his ends in state, were they right or wrong. So that, instead of finding prelacy an impeacher of schism or faction, the more I search, the more I grow into all persuasion to think rather that faction and she, as with a spousal ring, are wedded together, never to be divorced. But here let every one behold the just and dreadful judgment of God meeting with the audacious pride of man, that durst offer to mend the ordinances of heaven. God, out of the strife of men, brought forth by his apostles to the church that beneficent and ever-distributing office of deacons, the stewards and ministers of holy alms: man, out of the pretended care of peace and unity, being caught in the snare of his impious boldness to correct the will of Christ, brought forth to himself upon the church that irreconcilable schism of perdition and apostacy, the Roman antichrist; for that the exaltation of the pope arose out of the reason of prelacy, it cannot be denied. And as I noted before, that the pattern of the high-priest pleaded for in the gospel, (for take away the head priest, the rest are but a carcase,) sets up with better reason a pope than an archbishop; for if prelacy must still rise and rise till it come to a primate, why should it stay there? whenas the catholic government is not to follow the division of kingdoms, the temple best representing the universal church, and the high-priest the universal head: so I observe here, that if to quiet schism there must be one head of prelacy in a land, or mo-

narchy, rising from a provincial to a national primacy, there may, upon better grounds of repressing schism, be set up one catholic head over the catholic church. For the peace and good of the church is not terminated in the schismless estate of one or two kingdoms, but should be provided for by the joint consultation of all reformed christendom : that all controversy may end in the final pronounce or canon of one archprimate or protestant pope : although by this means, for aught I see, all the diameters of schism may as well meet and be knit up in the centre of one grand falsehood. Now let all impartial men arbitrate what goodly inference these two main reasons of the prelates have, that by a natural league of consequence make more for the pope than for themselves; yea, to say more home, are the very womb for a new subantichrist to breed in, if it be not rather the old force and power of the same man of sin counterfeiting protestant. It was not the prevention of schism, but it was schism itself, and the hateful thirst of lording in the church, that first bestowed a being upon prelacy ; this was the true cause, but the pretence is still the same. The prelates, as they would have it thought, are the only mauls of schism. Forsooth if they be put down, a deluge of innumerable sects will follow ; we shall be all Brownists, Familists, Anabaptists. For the word Puritan seems to be quashed, and all that heretofore were counted such, are now Brownists. And thus do they raise an evil report upon the expected reforming grace that God hath bid us hope for ; like those faithless spies, whose carcases shall perish in the wilderness of their own confused ignorance, and never taste the good of reformation. Do they keep away schism ? If to bring a numb and chill stupidity of soul, an unactive blindness of mind, upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all ; if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their courts, be to keep away schism, they keep schism away indeed : and by this kind of discipline all Italy and Spain is as purely and politically kept from schism as England hath been by them. With as good a plea might the dead palsy boast to a man, It is I that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes : if I were gone, all these would molest you. The winter might as well vaunt itself against the spring, I destroy all noisome and rank weeds, I keep down

all pestilent vapours ; yes, and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent and hide-bound frost : but when the gentle west winds shall open the fruitful bosom of the earth, thus overgirded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the sun shall scatter the mists, and the manuring hand of the tiller shall root up all that burdens the soil without thank to your bondage. But far worse than any frozen captivity is the bondage of prelates ; for that other, if it keep down anything which is good within the earth, so doth it likewise that which is ill ; but these let out freely the ill, and keep down the good, or else keep down the lesser ill, and let out the greatest. Be ashamed at last to tell the parliament, ye curb schismatics, whenas they know ye cherish and side with papists, and are now as it were one party with them, and it is said they help to petition for ye. Can we believe that your government strains in good earnest at the petty gnats of schism, whenas we see it makes nothing to swallow the camel heresy of Rome, but that indeed your throats are of the right pharisaical strain ? where are those schismatics, with whom the prelates hold such hot skirmish ? shew us your acts, those glorious annals which your courts of loathed memory lately deceased have left us ? Those schismatics I doubt me will be found the most of them such as whose only schism was to have spoken the truth against your high abominations and cruelties in the church ; this is the schism ye hate most, the removal of your criminous hierarchy. A politic government of yours, and of a pleasant conceit, set up to remove those as a pretended schism, that would remove you as a palpable heresy in government. If the schism would pardon ye that, she might go jagged in as many cuts and slashes as she pleased for you. As for the rending of the church, we have many reasons to think it is not that which ye labour to prevent, so much as the rending of your pontifical sleeves : that schism would be the sorest schism to you ; that would be Brownism and Anabaptism indeed. If we go down, say you, (as if Adrian's wall were broken,) a flood of sects will rush in. What sects ? What are their opinions ? Give us the inventory. It will appear both by your former prosecutions and your present instances, that they are only such to speak of, as are offended with your lawless government, your ceremonies, your liturgy, an extract of the mass-book trans-

lated. But that they should be contemners of public prayer, and churches used without superstition, I trust God will manifest it ere long to be as false a slander as your former slanders against the Scots. Noise it till ye be hoarse, that a rabble of sects will come in ; it will be answered ye, No rabble, sir priest ; but an unanimous multitude of good protestants will then join to the church, which now, because of you, stand separated. This will be the dreadful consequence of your removal. As for those terrible names of sectaries and schismatics which ye have got together, we know your manner of fight, when the quiver of your arguments, which is ever thin, and weakly stored, after the first brunt is quite empty, your course is to betake ye to your other quiver of slander, wherein lies your best archery. And whom you could not move by sophistical arguing, them you think to confute by scandalous misnaming : thereby inciting the blinder sort of people to dislike and deride sound doctrine and good Christianity, under two or three vile and hateful terms. But if we could easily endure and dissolve your doughtiest reasons in argument, we shall more easily bear the worst of your unreasonableness in calumny and false report : especially being foretold by Christ, that if he our master were by your predecessors called Samaritan and Beelzebub, we must not think it strange if his best disciples in the reformation, as at first by those of your tribe they were called Lollards and Hussites, so now by you be termed Puritans and Brownists. But my hope is, that the people of England will not suffer themselves to be juggled thus out of their faith and religion by a mist of names cast before their eyes, but will search wisely by the scriptures, and look quite through this fraudulent aspersion of a disgraceful name into the things themselves : knowing that the primitive Christians in their times were accounted such as are now called Familists and Adamites, or worse. And many on the prelatice side, like the church of Sardis, have a name to live, and yet are dead ; to be protestants, and are indeed papists in most of their principles. Thus persuaded, this your old fallacy we shall soon unmask, and quickly apprehend how you prevent schism, and who are your schismatics. But what if we prevent and hinder all good means of preventing schism ? That way which the apostles used, was to call a council : from which, by anything that can be learned from the fifteenth of

the Acts, no faithful Christian was debarred, to whom knowledge and piety might give entrance. Of such a council as this every parochial consistory is a right homogeneous and constituting part, being in itself, as it were, a little synod, and towards a general assembly moving upon her own basis in an even and firm progression, as those smaller squares in battle unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an emblem of truth and steadfastness. Whereas, on the other side, prelacy ascending by a gradual monarchy from bishop to archbishop, from thence to primate, and from thence, for there can be no reason yielded neither in nature nor in religion, wherefore, if it have lawfully mounted thus high, it should not be a lordly ascendant in the horoscope of the church, from primate to patriarch, and so to pope: I say, prelacy thus ascending in a continual pyramid upon pretence to perfect the church's unity, if notwithstanding it be found most needful, yea, the utmost help to darn up the rents of schism by calling a council, what does it but teach us that prelacy is of no force to effect this work, which she boasts to be her masterpiece; and that her pyramid aspires and sharpens to ambition, not to perfection or unity? This we know, that as often as any great schism disparts the church, and synods be proclaimed, the presbyters have as great right there, and as free vote of old, as the bishops, which the canon law conceals not. So that prelacy, if she will seek to close up divisions in the church, must be forced to dissolve and unmake her own pyramidal figure, which she affirms to be of such uniting power, wheras indeed it is the most dividing and schismatical form that geometers know of, and must be fain to inglobe or incube herself among the presbyters; which she hating to do, sends her haughty prelates from all parts with their forked mitres, the badge of schism, or the stamp of his cloven foot whom they serve, I think, who, according to their hierarchies acuminating still higher and higher in a cone of prelacy, instead of healing up the gashes of the church, as it happens in such pointed bodies meeting, fall to gore one another with their sharp spires for upper place and precedence, till the council itself proves the greatest schism of all. And thus they are so far from hindering dissension, that they have made unprofitable, and even noisome, the chiefest remedy we have to keep Christendom at one, which is by councils: and these, if we rightly

consider apostolic example, are nothing else but general presbyteries. This seemed so far from the apostles to think much of, as if hereby their dignity were impaired, that, as we may gather by those epistles of Peter and John, which are likely to be latest written, when the church grew to a settling, like those heroic patricians of ROME (if we may use such comparison) hastening to lay down their dictatorship, they rejoiced to call themselves, and to be as fellow-elders among their brethren; knowing that their high office was but as the scaffolding of the church yet un-built, and would be but a troublesome disfigurement, so soon as the building was finished. But the lofty minds of an age or two after, such was their small discerning, thought it a poor indignity, that the high-reared government of the church should so on a sudden, as it seemed to them, squat into a presbytery. Next, or rather, before councils, the timeliest prevention of schism is to preach the gospel abundantly and powerfully throughout all the land, to instruct the youth religiously, to endeavour how the scriptures may be easiest understood by all men; to all which the proceedings of these men have been on set purpose contrary. But how, O prelates, should you remove schism? and how should you not remove and oppose all the means of removing schism? when prelacy is a schism itself from the most reformed and most flourishing of our neighbour churches abroad, and a sad subject of discord and offence to the whole nation at home. The remedy which you allege, is the very disease we groan under; and never can be to us a remedy but by removing itself. Your predecessors were believed to assume this pre-eminence above their brethren, only that they might appease dissension. Now God and the church call upon you, for the same reason, to lay it down, as being to thousands of good men offensive, burdensome, intolerable. Surrender that pledge, which, unless you foully usurped it, the church gave you, and now claims it again, for the reason she first lent it. Discharge the trust committed to you, prevent schism; and that ye can never do, but by discharging yourselves. That government which ye hold, we confess, prevents much, hinders much, removes much: but what? the schisms and grievances of the church? no, but all the peace and unity, all the welfare not of the church alone, but of the whole

kingdom. And if it be still permitted ye to hold, will cause the most sad, I know not whether separation be enough to say, but such a wide gulf of distraction in this land, as will never close her dismal gap until ye be forced, (for of yourselves you will never do as that Roman, Curtius, nobly did,) for the church's peace and your country's, to leap into the midst, and be no more seen. By this we shall know whether yours be that ancient prelacy, which you say was first constituted for the reducement of quiet and unanimity into the church, for then you will not delay to prefer that above your own preferment. If otherwise, we must be confident that your prelacy is nothing else but your ambition, an insolent preferring of yourselves above your brethren ; and all your learned scraping in antiquity, even to disturb the bones of old Aaron and his sons in their graves, is but to maintain and set upon our necks a stately and severe dignity, which you call sacred, and is nothing in very deed but a grave and reverend gluttony, a sanctimonious avarice ; in comparison of which, all the duties and dearnesses which ye owe to God or to his church, to law, custom, or nature, ye have resolved to set at nought. I could put you in mind what counsel Clement, a fellow-labourer with the apostles, gave to the presbyters of Corinth, whom the people, though unjustly, sought to remove. "Who among you," saith he, "is noble-minded, who is pitiful, who is charitable ? let him say thus, If for me this sedition, this enmity, these differences be, I willingly depart, I go my ways ; only let the flock of Christ be at peace with the presbyters that are set over it. He that shall do this," saith he, "shall get him great honour in the Lord, and all places will receive him." This was Clement's counsel to good and holy men, that they should depart rather from their just office, than by their stay to ravel out the seamless garment of concord in the church. But I have better counsel to give the prelates, and far more acceptable to their ears ; this advice in my opinion is fitter for them : Cling fast to your pontifical sees, bate not, quit yourselves like barons, stand to the utmost for your haughty courts and votes in parliament. Still tell us, that you prevent schism, though schism and combustion be the very issue of your bodies, your first-born ; and set your country a bleeding in a prelatrical mutiny, to fight for your pomp, and that ill-favoured weed of temporal

honour, that sits dishonourably upon your laic shoulders, that ye may be fat and fleshy, swoln with high thoughts and big with mischievous designs, when God comes to visit upon you all this fourscore years' vexation of his church under your Egyptian tyranny. For certainly of all those blessed souls which you have persecuted, and those miserable ones which you have lost, the just vengeance does not sleep.

CHAPTER VII.

That those many Sects and Schisms by some supposed to be among us, and that Rebellion in Ireland, ought not to be a Hindrance, but a Hastening of Reformation.

As for those many sects and divisions rumoured abroad to be amongst us, it is not hard to perceive, that they are partly the mere fictions and false alarms of the prelates, thereby to cast amazements and panic terrors into the hearts of weaker Christians, that they should not venture to change the present deformity of the church, for fear of I know not what worse inconveniences. With the same objected fears and suspicions, we know that subtle prelate Gardner sought to divert the Reformation. It may suffice us to be taught by St. Paul, that there must be sects for the manifesting of those that are sound-hearted. These are but winds and flaws to try the floating vessel of our faith, whether it be stanch and sail well, whether our ballast be just, our anchorage and cable strong. By this is seen who lives by faith and certain knowledge, and who by credulity and the prevailing opinion of the age; whose virtue is of an unchangeable grain, and whose of a slight wash. If God come to try our constancy, we ought not to shrink or stand the less firmly for that, but pass on with more steadfast resolution to establish the truth, though it were through a lane of sects and heresies on each side. Other things men do to the glory of God: but sects and errors, it seems, God suffers to be for the glory of good men, that the world may know and reverence their true fortitude and undaunted constancy in the truth. Let us not therefore make these things an incumbrance, or an excuse of our delay in reforming, which God sends us as an incitement to proceed

with more honour and alacrity : for if there were no opposition, where were the trial of an unfeigned goodness and magnanimity ? Virtue that wavers is not virtue, but vice revolted from itself, and after a while returning. The actions of just and pious men do not darken in their middle course ; but Solomon tells us, they are as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. But if we shall suffer the trifling doubts and jealousies of future sects to over-cloud the fair beginnings of purposed reformation, let us rather fear that another proverb of the same wise man be not upbraided to us, that "the way of the wicked is as darkness ; they stumble at they knew not what." If sects and schisms be turbulent in the unsettled estate of a church, while it lies under the amending hand, it best beseems our Christian courage to think they are but as the throes and pangs that go before the birth of reformation, and that the work itself is now in doing. For if we look but on the nature of elemental and mixed things, we know they cannot suffer any change of one kind or quality into another, without the struggle of contrarieties. And in things artificial, seldom any elegance is wrought without a superfluous waste and refuse in the transaction. No marble statue can be politely carved, no fair edifice built, without almost as much rubbish and sweeping. Insomuch that even in the spiritual conflict of St. Paul's conversion, there fell scales from his eyes, that were not perceived before. No wonder then in the reforming of a church, which is never brought to effect without the fierce encounter of truth and falsehood together, if, as it were, the splinters and shards of so violent a jousting, there fall from between the shock many fond errors and fanatic opinions, which, when truth has the upper hand, and the reformation shall be perfected, will easily be rid out of the way, or kept so low, as that they shall be only the exercise of our knowledge, not the disturbance or interruption of our faith. As for that which Barclay, in his "Image of Minds," writes concerning the horrible and barbarous conceits of Englishmen in their religion, I deem it spoken like what he was, a fugitive papist traducing the island whence he sprung. It may be more judiciously gathered from hence, that the Englishman of many other nations is least atheistical, and bears a natural disposition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity,

but in his weakness and want of better instruction, which among us too frequently is neglected, especially by the meaner sort, turning the bent of his own wits, with a scrupulous and ceaseless care, what he might do to inform himself aright of God and his worship, he may fall not unlikely sometimes, as any other landman, into an uncouth opinion. And verily if we look at his native towardliness in the roughcast without breeding, some nation or other may haply be better composed to a natural civility and right judgment than he. But if he get the benefit once of a wise and well-rectified nurture, which must first come in general from the godly vigilance of the church, I suppose that wherever mention is made of countries, manners, or men, the English people, among the first that shall be praised, may deserve to be accounted a right pious, right honest, and right hardy nation. But thus while some stand dallying and deferring to reform for fear of that which should mainly hasten them forward, lest schism and error should increase, we may now thank ourselves and our delays, if instead of schism a bloody and inhuman rebellion be strook in between our slow movings. Indeed against violent and powerful opposition there can be no just blame of a lingering dispatch. But this I urge against those that discourse it for a maxim, as if the swift opportunities of establishing or reforming religion were to attend upon the phlegm of state-business. In state many things at first are crude and hard to digest, which only time and deliberation can supple and concoct. But in religion, wherein is no immaturity, nothing out of season, it goes far otherwise. The door of grace turns upon smooth hinges, wide opening to send out, but soon shutting to recall the precious offers of mercy to a nation: which, unless watchfulness and zeal, two quacksighted and ready-handed virgins, be there in our behalf to receive, we lose: and still the oftener we lose, the straiter the door opens, and the less is offered. This is all we get by demurring in God's service. It is not rebellion that ought to be the hinderance of reformation, but it is the want of this which is the cause of that. The prelates which boast themselves the only bridlers of schism, God knows, have been so cold and backward both there and with us to repress heresy and idolatry, that either, through their carelessness, or their craft, all this mischief is befallen. What can the Irish sub-

jects do less in God's just displeasure against us, than revenge upon English bodies the little care that our prelates have had of their souls? Nor hath their negligence been new in that island, but ever notorious in Queen Elizabeth's days, as Camden, their known friend, forbears not to complain. Yet so little are they touched with remorse of these their cruelties, (for these cruelties are theirs, the bloody revenge of those souls which they have famished,) that whenas against our brethren the Scots, who, by their upright and loyal deeds, have now brought themselves an honourable name to posterity, whatsoever malice by slander could invent, rage in hostility attempt, they greedily attempted; toward these murderous Irish, the enemies of God and mankind, a cursed offspring of their own connivance, no man takes notice but that they seem to be very calmly and indifferently affected. Where then should we begin to extinguish a rebellion that hath its cause from the misgovernment of the church? where, but at the church's reformation, and the removal of that government which pursues and wars with all good Christians under the name of schismatics, but maintains and fosters all papists and idolaters as tolerable Christians? And if the sacred Bible may be our light, we are neither without example, nor the witness of God himself, that the corrupted estate of the church is both the cause of tumult and civil wars, and that to stint them, the peace of the church must first be settled. "Now, for a long season," saith Azariah to King Asa, "Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without law: and in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries. And nation was destroyed of nation, and city of city, for God did vex them with all adversity. Be ye strong therefore," saith he to the reformers of that age, "and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded." And in those prophets that lived in the times of reformation after the captivity, often doth God stir up the people to consider, that while establishment of church-matters was neglected, and put off, there "was no peace to him that went out or came in; for I," saith God, "had set all men every one against his neighbour." But from the very day forward that they went seriously and effectually about the

welfare of the church, he tells them, that they themselves might perceive the sudden change of things into a prosperous and peaceful condition. But it will here be said, that the reformation is a long work, and the miseries of Ireland are urgent of a speedy redress. They be indeed ; and how speedy we are, the poor afflicted remnant of our martyred countrymen that sit there on the seashore, counting the hours of our delay with their sighs, and the minutes with their falling tears, perhaps with the distilling of their bloody wounds, if they have not quite by this time cast off, and almost cursed the vain hope of our foundered ships and aids, can best judge how speedy we are to their relief. But let their succours be hasted, as all need and reason is ; and let not therefore the reformation, which is the chiefest cause of success and victory, be still procrastinated. They of the captivity in their greatest extremities could find both counsel and hands enough at once to build, and to expect the enemy's assault. And we, for our parts, a populous and mighty nation, must needs be fallen into a strange plight either of effeminacy or confusion, if Ireland, that was once the conquest of one single earl with his private forces, and the small assistance of a petty Kernish prince, should now take up all the wisdom and prowess of this potent monarchy, to quell a barbarous crew of rebels, whom, if we take but the right course to subdue, that is, beginning at the reformation of our church, their own horrid murders and rapes will so fight against them, that the very sailors and horse-boys of the camp will be able to rout and chase them, without the staining of any noble sword. To proceed by other method in this enterprise, be our captains and commanders never so expert, will be as great an error in the art of war, as any novice in soldiership ever committed. And thus I leave it as a declared truth, that neither the fear of sects, no, nor rebellion, can be a fit plea to stay reformation, but rather to push it forward with all possible diligence and speed.

THE SECOND BOOK.

How happy were it for this frail, and as it may be called mortal life of man, since all earthly things which have the

name of good and convenient in our daily use, are withal so cumbersome and full of trouble, if knowledge, yet which is the best and lightsomest possession of the mind, were, as the common saying is, no burden; and that what it wanted of being a load to any part of the body, it did not with a heavy advantage overlay upon the spirit! For not to speak of that knowledge that rests in the contemplation of natural causes and dimensions, which must needs be a lower wisdom, as the object is low, certain it is, that he who hath obtained in more than the scantiest measure to know anything distinctly of God, and of his true worship, and what is infallibly good and happy in the state of man's life, what in itself evil and miserable, though vulgarly not so esteemed; he that hath obtained to know this, the only high valuable wisdom indeed, remembering also that God, even to a strictness, requires the improvement of these his entrusted gifts, cannot but sustain a soror burden of mind, and more pressing, than any supportable toil or weight which the body can labour under, how and in what manner he shall dispose and employ those sums of knowledge and illumination, which God hath sent him into this world to trade with. And that which aggravates the burden more, is, that, having received amongst his allotted parcels certain precious truths, of such an orient lusture as no diamond can equal, which nevertheless he has in charge to put off at any cheap rate, yea, for nothing to them that will; the great merchants of this world, fearing that this course would soon discover and disgrace the false glitter of their deceitful wares, wherewith they abuse the people, like poor Indians with beads and glasses, practise by all means how they may suppress the vending of such rarities, and at such a cheapness as would undo them, and turn their trash upon their hands. Therefore by gratifying the corrupt desires of men in fleshly doctrines, they stir them up to persecute with hatred and contempt all those that seek to bear theniselves uprightly in this their spiritual factory: which they foreseeing, though they cannot but testify of truth, and the excellency of that heavenly traffic which they bring, against what opposition or danger soever, yet needs must it sit heavily upon their spirits, that being, in God's prime intention and their own, selected heralds of peace, and dispens-

ers of treasure inestimable, without price, to them that have no peace, they find in the discharge of their commission, that they are made the greatest variance and offence, a very sword and fire both in house and city over the whole earth. This is that which the sad prophet Jeremiah laments : “ Wo is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me, a man of strife and contention ! ” And although divine inspiration must certainly have been sweet to those ancient prophets, yet the irksomeness of that truth which they brought was so unpleasant unto them, that everywhere they call it a burden. Yea, that mysterious book of revelation, which the great evangelist was bid to eat, as it had been some eye-brightening electuary of knowledge and foresight, though it were sweet in his mouth, and in the learning, it was bitter in his belly, bitter in the denouncing. Nor was this hid from the wise poet Sophocles, who in that place of his tragedy where Tiresias is called to resolve king Oedipus in a matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his lot, that he knew more than other men. For surely to every good and peaceable man, it must in nature needs be a hateful thing to be the displeaser and molester of thousands ; much better would it like him doubtless to be the messenger of gladness and contentment, which is his chief intended business to all mankind, but that they resist and oppose their own true happiness. But when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man’s will what he shall say, or what he shall conceal. If he shall think to be silent as Jeremiah did, because of the reproach and derision he met with daily, “ And all his familiar friends watched for his halting,” to be revenged on him for speaking the truth, he would be forced to confess as he confessed : “ His word was in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones ; I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay.” Which might teach these times not suddenly to condemn all things that are sharply spoken or vehemently written as proceeding out of stomach, virulence, and ill-nature ; but to consider rather, that if the prelates have leave to say the worst that can be said, or do the worst that can be done, while they strive to keep to themselves, to their great pleasure and commodity, those things which they ought to render up, no man can be

justly offended with him that shall endeavour to impart and bestow, without any gain to himself, those sharp but saving words which would be a terror and a torment in him to keep back. For me, I have determined to lay up as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth, where I shall think it available in so dear a concernment as the church's good. For if I be, either by disposition or what other cause, too inquisitive, or suspicious of myself and mine own doings, who can help it? But this I foresee, that should the church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed; or should she, by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days, without the least furtherance or contribution of those few talents, which God at that present had lent me; I foresee what stories I should hear within myself, all my life after, of discourage and reproach. Timorous and ungrateful, the church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting enemies, and thou bewailest. What matters it for thee, or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hast read, or studied, to utter in her behalf. Yet ease and leisure was given thee for thy retired thoughts, out of the sweat of other men. Thou hast the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified; but when the cause of God and his church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listened if he could hear thy voice among his zealous servants, but thou wert dumb as a beast; from henceforward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee. Or else I should have heard on the other ear: Slothful, and ever to be set light by, the church hath now overcome her late distresses after the unwearied labours of many her true servants that stood up in her defence; thou also wouldest take upon thee to share amongst them of their joy: but wherefore thou? Where canst thou shew any word or deed of thine which might have hastened her peace? Whatever thou dost now talk, or write, or look, is the alms of other men's active prudence and zeal. Dare

not now to say or do anything better than thy former sloth and infancy ; or if thou darest, thou dost impudently to make a thrifty purchase of boldness to thyself, out of the painful merits of other men ; what before was thy sin is now thy duty, to be abject and worthless. These, and such-like lessons as these, I know would have been my matins duly, and my even-song. But now by this little diligence, mark what a privilege I have gained with good men and saints, to claim my right of lamenting the tribulations of the church, if she should suffer, when others, that have ventured nothing for her sake, have not the honour to be admitted mourners. But if she lift up her drooping head and prosper, among those that have something more than wished her welfare, I have my charter and freehold of rejoicing to me and my heirs. Concerning therefore this wayward subject against prelacy, the touching whereof is so distasteful and disquietous to a number of men, as by what hath been said I may deserve of charitable readers to be credited, that neither envy nor gall hath entered me upon this controversy, but the enforcement of conscience only, and a preventive fear lest the omitting of this duty should be against me, when I would store up to myself the good provision of peaceful hours : so, lest it should be still imputed to me, as I have found it hath been, that some self-pleasing humour of vain-glory hath incited me to contest with men of high estimation, now while green years are upon my head ; from this needless surmisal I shall hope to dissuade the intelligent and equal auditor, if I can but say successfully that which in this exigent behoves me ; although I would be heard only, if it might be, by the elegant and learned reader, to whom principally for a while I shall beg leave I may address myself. To him it will be no new thing, though I tell him that if I hunted after praise, by the ostentation of wit and learning, I should not write thus out of mine own season when I have neither yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies, although I complain not of any insufficiency to the matter in hand ; or were I ready to my wishes, it were a folly to commit anything elaborately composed to the careless and interrupted listening of these tumultuous times. Next, if I were wise only to my own ends, I would certainly take such a subject as of itself might catch applause, whereas

this hath all the disadvantages on the contrary, and such a subject as the publishing whereof might be delayed at pleasure, and time enough to pencil it over with all the curious touches of art, even to the perfection of a faultless picture ; whenas in this argument the not deferring is of great moment to the good speeding, that if solidity have leisure to do her office, art cannot have much. Lastly, I should not choose this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account, but of my left hand. And though I shall be foolish in saying more to this purpose, yet, since it will be such a folly, as wisest men go about to commit, having only confessed and so committed, I may trust with more reason, because with more folly, to have courteous pardon. For although a poet, soaring in the high reason of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him, might, without apology, speak more of himself than I mean to do ; yet for me sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing among many readers of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of myself, I shall petition to the gentler sort, it may not be envy to me. I must say, therefore, that after I had for my first years, by the ceaseless diligence and care of my father, (whom God recompense !) been exercised to the tongues, and some sciences, as my age would suffer, by sundry masters and teachers, both at home and at the schools, it was found that whether aught was imposed me by them that had the overlooking, or betaken to of mine own choice in English, or other tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly by this latter, the style, by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live. But much latelier in the private academies of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance above what was looked for ; and other things, which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up amongst them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps ; I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and in-

tense study, (which I take to be my portion in this life,) joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die. These thoughts at once possessed me, and these other ; that if I were certain to write as men buy leases, for three lives and downward, there ought no regard be sooner had than to God's glory, by the honour and instruction of my country. For which cause, and not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the second rank among the Latins, I applied myself to that resolution, which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue ; not to make verbal curiosities the end, (that were a toilsome vanity,) but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a Christian, might do for mine ; not caring to be once named abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with these British islands as my world ; whose fortune hath hitherto been, that if the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, England hath had her noble achievements made small by the unskilful handling of monks and mechanics.

Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempting ; whether that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model : or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art, and use judgment, is no transgression, but an enriching of art : and lastly, what king or knight, before the conquest, might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero. And as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the Infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemain against the Lombards ; if to the

instinct of nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our own ancient stories; or whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation. The scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons, and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges. And the Apocalypse of St. John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies: and this my opinion the grave authority of Pareus, commenting that book, is sufficient to confirm. Or if occasion shall lead, to imitate those magnific odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almighty ness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought with high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within; all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe. Teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, through

all the instances of example, with such delight to those especially of soft and delicious temper, who will not so much as look upon truth herself, unless they see her elegantly dressed; that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they will then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to our youth and gentry, may be soon guessed by what we know of the corruption and bane which they suck in daily from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant poetasters, who having scarce ever heard of that which is the main consistence of a true poem, the choice of such persons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and decent to each one; do for the most part lay up vicious principles in sweet pills to be swallowed down, and make the taste of virtuous documents harsh and sour. But because the spirit of man cannot demean itself lively in this body, without some recreating intermission of labour and serious things, it were happy for the commonwealth, if our magistrates, as in those famous governments of old, would take into their care, not only the deciding of our contentious law-cases and brawls, but the managing of our public sports and festival pastimes; that they might be, not such as were authorized a while since, the provocations of drunkenness and lust, but such as may inure and harden our bodies by martial exercises to all warlike skill and performance; and may civilize, adorn, and make discreet our minds by the learned and affable meeting of frequent academies, and the procurement of wise and artful recitations, sweetened with eloquent and graceful enticements to the love and practice of justice, temperance, and fortitude, instructing and bettering the nation at all opportunities, that the call of wisdom and virtue may be heard everywhere, as Solomon saith: "She crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets, in the top of high places, in the chief concourse, and in the openings of the gates." Whether this may not be, not only in pulpits, but after another persuasive method, at set and solemn paneguries, in theatres, porches, or what other place or way may win most upon the people to receive at once both recreation and instruction, let them in authority consult. The thing which I had to say, and those intentions which have lived within me ever

since I could conceive myself anything worth to my country, I return to crave excuse that urgent reason hath plucked from me, by an abortive and foredated discovery. And the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above man's to promise ; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavoured, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall, that I dare almost aver of myself, as far as life and free leisure will extend ; and that the land had once enfranchised herself from this impertinent yoke of prelacy, under whose inquisitorious and tyrannical duncery, no free and splendid wit can flourish. Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader, that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine ; like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist, or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite ; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame memory and her siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases : to this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs ; till which in some measure be compassed, at mine own peril and cost, I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them. Although it nothing content me to have disclosed thus much beforehand, but that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies, to come into the dim reflection of hollow antiquities sold by the seeming bulk, and there be fain to club quotations with men whose learning and belief lies in marginal stuffings, who, when they have, like good sumpters, laid ye down their horse-loads of citations and fathers at your door, with a rhapsody of who and who were bishops here or there, ye may take off their packsaddles, their day's work is done,

and episcopacy, as they think, stoutly vindicated. Let any gentle apprehension, that can distinguish learned pains from unlearned drudgery imagine what pleasure or profoundness can be in this, or what honour to deal against such adversaries. But were it the meanest under-service, if God by his secretary conscience enjoin it, it were sad for me if I should draw back; for me especially, now when all men offer their aid to help, ease, and lighten the difficult labours of the church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions: till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which, unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either straight perjure, or split his faith; I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing. Howsoever, thus church-outed by the prelates, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters, as before the necessity and constraint appeared.

CHAPTER I.

*That Prelaty opposeth the Reason and End of the Gospel
three Ways: and first, in her outward Form.*

AFTER this digression, it would remain that I should single out some other reason, which might undertake for prelacy to be a fit and lawful church-government; but finding none of like validity with these that have already sped according to their fortune, I shall add one reason why it is not to be thought a church government at all, but a church tyranny, and is at hostile terms with the end and reason of Christ's evangelic ministry. Albeit I must confess to be half in doubt whether I should bring it forth or no, it being so contrary to the eye of the world, and the world so potent in most men's hearts, that I shall endanger either not to be regarded, or not to be understood; for who is there almost that measures wisdom by simplicity, strength by suffering, dignity by lowliness? Who is there that counts it first to be last, something to be nothing, and reckons himself of great command in that he is a servant? Yet God, when he

meant to subdue the world and hell at once, part of that to salvation, and this wholly to perdition, made choice of no other weapons or auxiliaries than these, whether to save or to destroy. It had been a small mastery for him to have drawn out his legions into array, and flanked them with his thunder; therefore he sent foolishness to confute wisdom, weakness to bind strength, despisedness to vanquish pride: and this is the great mystery of the gospel made good in Christ himself, who, as he testifies, came not to be ministered to, but to minister; and must be fulfilled in all his ministers till his second coming. To go against these principles St. Paul so feared, that if he should but affect the wisdom of words in his preaching, he thought it would be laid to his charge, that he had made the cross of Christ to be of none effect. Whether, then, prelaty do not make of none effect the cross of Christ, by the principles it hath so contrary to these, nullifying the power and end of the gospel, it shall not want due proof, if it want not due belief. Neither shall I stand to trifle with one that would tell me of quiddities and formalities, whether prelaty or prelacy, in abstract notion, be this or that; it suffices me that I find it in his skin, so I find it inseparable, or not oftener otherwise than a phoenix hath been seen; although I persuade me, that whatever faultiness was but superficial to prelaty at the beginning, is now, by the just judgment of God, long since branded and inworn into the very essence thereof. First, therefore, if to do the work of the gospel, Christ our Lord took upon him the form of a servant, how can his servant in this ministry take upon him the form of a lord? I know Bilson hath deciphered us all the gallantries of signore and monsignore, and monsieur, as circumstantially as any punctualist of Castile, Naples, or Fountain-Bleau could have done: but this must not so compliment us out of our right minds, as to be to learn that the form of a servant was a mean, laborious, and vulgar life, aptest to teach; which form Christ thought fittest, that he might bring about his will according to his own principles, choosing the meaner things of this world, that he might put under the high. Now, whether the pompous garb, the lordly life, the wealth, the haughty distance of prelaty, be those meaner things of the world, whereby God in them would manage the mystery of

nis gospel, be it the verdict of common sense. For Christ saith, in St. John, "The servant is not greater than his lord, nor he that is sent greater than he that sent him;" and adds, "If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them." Then let the prelates well advise, if they neither know, nor do these things, or if they know, and yet do them not, wherein their happiness consists. And thus is the gospel frustrated by the lordly form of prelacy.

CHAPTER II.

'That the ceremonious Doctrine of Prelacy opposeth the Reason and End of the Gospel.'

THAT which next declares the heavenly power and reveals the deep mystery of the gospel, is the pure simplicity of doctrine, accounted the foolishness of this world, yet crossing and confounding the pride and wisdom of the flesh. And wherein consists this fleshly wisdom and pride? In being altogether ignorant of God and his worship? No, surely; for men are naturally ashamed of that. Where then? It consists in a bold presumption of ordering the worship and service of God after man's own will in traditions and ceremonies. Now if the pride and wisdom of the flesh were to be defeated and confounded, no doubt but in that very point wherein it was proudest, and thought itself wisest, that so the victory of the gospel might be the more illustrious. But our prelates, instead of expressing the spiritual power of their ministry, by warring against this chief bulwark and stronghold of the flesh, have entered into fast league with the principal enemy against whom they were sent, and turned the strength of fleshly pride and wisdom against the pure simplicity of saving truth. First, mistrusting to find the authority of their order in the immediate institution of Christ, or his apostles, by the clear evidence of scripture, they fly to the carnal supportment of tradition; when we appeal to the Bible, they to the unwieldy volumes of tradition: and do not shame to reject the ordinance of him that is eternal, for the perverse iniquity of sixteen hundred years; choosing rather to think truth itself a liar, than that sixteen ages should be taxed with an error; not con-

sidering the general apostacy that was foretold, and the church's flight into the wilderness. Nor is this enough; instead of showing the reason of their lowly condition from divine example and command, they seek to prove their high pre-eminence from human consent and authority. But let them chant while they will of prerogatives, we shall tell them of scripture; of custom, we of scripture; of acts and statutes, still of scripture; till the quick and piercing word enter to the dividing of their souls, and the mighty weakness of the gospel throw down the weak mightiness of man's reasoning. Now for their demeanour within the church, how have they disfigured and defaced that more than angelic brightness, the unclouded serenity of Christian religion, with the dark overcasting of superstitious copes and flaminical vestures, wearing on their backs, and, I abhor to think, perhaps in some worse place, the inexpressible image of God the Father? Tell me, ye priests, wherefore this gold, wherefore these robes and surplices over the gospel? Is our religion guilty of the first trespass, and hath need of clothing to cover her nakedness? What does this else but cast an ignominy upon the perfection of Christ's ministry, by seeking to adorn it with that which was the poor remedy of our shame? Believe it, wondrous doctors, all corporeal resemblances of inward holiness and beauty are now past; he that will clothe the gospel now, intimates plainly that the gospel is naked, uncomely, that I may not say reproachful. Do not, ye church maskers, while Christ is clothing upon our barrenness with his righteous garment to make us acceptable in his Father's sight; do not, as ye do, cover and hide his righteous verity with the polluted clothing of your ceremonies, to make it seem more decent in your own eyes. "How beautiful," saith Isaiah, "are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth salvation!" "Are the feet so beautiful, and is the very bringing of these tidings so decent of itself? What new decency can then be added to this by your spinstry? Ye think by these gaudy glisternings to stir up the devotion of the rude multitude; ye think so, because ye forsake the heavenly teaching of St. Paul for the hellish sophistry of papism. If the multitude be rude, the lips of the preacher must give knowledge, and not ceremonies. And although some Christians be

new-born babes comparatively to some that are stronger, yet in respect of ceremony, which is but a rudiment of the law, the weakest Christian hath thrown off the robes of his minority, and is a perfect man, as to legal rites. What children's food there is in the gospel we know to be no other than the "sincerity of the word, that they may grow thereby." But is here the utmost of your outbraving the service of God? No. Ye have been bold, not to set your threshold by his threshold, or your posts by his posts; but your sacrament, your sign, call it what you will, by his sacrament, baptizing the Christian infant with a solemn sprinkle, and unbaptizing for your own part with a profane and impious forefinger; as if when ye had laid the purifying clement upon his forehead, ye meant to cancel and cross it out again with a character not of God's bidding. O but the innocence of these ceremonies! O rather the sottish absurdity of this excuse. What could be more innocent than the washing of a cup, a glass, or hands, before meat, and that under the law, when so many washings were commanded, and by long tradition? yet our Saviour detested their customs, though never so seeming harmless, and charges them severely, that they had transgressed the commandments of God by their traditions, and worshipped him in vain. How much more then must these, and much grosser ceremonies now in force, delude the end of Christ's coming in the flesh against the flesh, and stifle the sincerity of our new covenant, which hath bound us to forsake all carnal pride and wisdom, especially in matters of religion? Thus we see again how prelacy, failing in opposition to the main end and power of the gospel, doth not join in that mysterious work of Christ, by lowliness to confound height; by simplicity of doctrine, the wisdom of the world; but contrariwise hath made itself high in the world and the flesh, to vanquish things by the world accounted low, and made itself wise in tradition and fleshy ceremony, to confound the purity of doctrine which is the wisdom of God.

CHAPTER III.

That prelatical Jurisdiction opposeth the Reason and End of the Gospel and of State.

THE third and last consideration remains, whether the prelates in their function do work according to the gospel, practising to subdue the mighty things of this world by things weak, which St. Paul hath set forth to be the power and excellence of the gospel ; or whether in more likelihood they band themselves with the prevalent things of this world, to overrun the weak things which Christ hath made choice to work by : and this will soonest be discerned by the course of their jurisdiction. But here again I find my thoughts almost in suspense betwixt yea and no, and am nigh turning mine eye which way I may best retire, and not proceed in this subject, blaming the ardency of my mind that fixed me too attentively to come thus far. For truth, I know not how, hath this unhappiness fatal to her, ere she can come to the trial and inspection of the understanding ; being to pass through many little wards and limits of the several affections and desires, she cannot shift it, but must put on such colours and attire as those pathetic handmaids of the soul please to lead her in to their queen : and if she find so much favour with them, they let her pass in her own likeness ; if not, they bring her into the presence habited and coloured like a notorious falsehood. And contrary, when any falsehood comes that way, if they like the errand she brings, they are so artful to counterfeit the very shape and visage of truth, that the understanding not being able to discern the fucus which these enchantresses with such cunning have laid upon the feature sometimes of truth, sometimes of falsehood interchangeably, sentences for the most part one for the other at the first blush, according to the subtle imposture of these sensual mistresses, that keep the ports and passages between her and the object. So that were it not for leaving imperfect that which is already said, I should go near to relinquish that which is to follow. And because I see that most men, as it happens in this world, either weakly or falsely principled, what through ignorance, and what through custom of licence, both in discourse and writing, by what hath been of late written in vulgar, have not seemed to attain the decision of this point : I shall likewise assay those

wily arbitresses who in most men have, as was heard, the sole ushering of truth and falsehood between the sense and the soul, with what loyalty they will use me in convoying this truth to my understanding; the rather for that, by as much acquaintance as I can obtain with them, I do not find them engaged either one way or other. Concerning therefore ecclesiastical jurisdiction, I find still more controversy, who should administer it, than diligent inquiry made to learn what it is: for had the pains been taken to search out that, it had been long ago enrolled to be nothing else but a pure tyrannical forgery of the prelates; and that jurisdictional power in the church there ought to be none at all. It cannot be conceived that what men now call jurisdiction in the church, should be other thing than a Christian censorship; and therefore it is most commonly and truly named ecclesiastical censure. Now if the Roman censor, a civil function, to that severe assize of surveying and controlling the privatest and slyest manners of all men and all degrees, had no jurisdiction, no courts of plea or indictment, no punitive force annexed; whether it were that to this manner of correction the entanglement of suits was improper, or that the notice of those upright inquisitors extended to such the most covert and spirituous vices as would slip easily between the wider and more material grasp of the law or that it stood more with the majesty of that office to have no other sergeants or maces about them but those invisible ones of terror and shame; or, lastly, were it their fear, lest the greatness of this authority and honour, armed with jurisdiction, might step with ease into a tyranny: in all these respects, with much more reason undoubtedly ought the censure of the church be quite divested and disentailed of all jurisdiction whatsoever. For if the course of judicature to a political censorship seem either too tedious, or too contentious, much more may it to the discipline of the church, whose definitive decrees are to be speedy, but the execution of rigour slow, contrary to what in legal proceedings is most usual; and by how much the less contentious it is, by so much will it be the more Christian. And if the Censor, in his moral episcopy being to judge most in matters not answerable by writ or action, could not use an instrument so gross and bodily as jurisdiction is, how can the minister of the gospel manage the corpulent and secular trial of bill and process in things

merely spiritual? Or could that Roman office, without this juridical sword or saw, strike such a reverence of itself into the most undaunted hearts, as with one single dash of ignominy to put all the senate and knighthood of Rome into a tremble? Surely much rather might the heavenly ministry of the evangel bind herself about with far more piercing beams of majesty and awe, by wanting the beggarly help of halings and amerccements in the use of her powerful keys. For when the church without temporal support is able to do her great works upon the unforced obedience of men, it argues a divinity about her. But when she thinks to credit and better her spiritual efficacy, and to win herself respect and dread by strutting in the false vizard of worldly authority, it is evident that God is not there, but that her apostolic virtue is departed from her, and hath left her keycold; which she perceiving as in a decayed nature, seeks to the outward fomentations and chafings of worldly help, and external flourishes, to fetch, if it be possible, some motion into her extreme parts, or to hatch a counterfeit life with the crafty and artificial heat of jurisdiction. But it is observable, that so long as the church, in true imitation of Christ, can be content to ride upon an ass, carrying herself and her government along in a mean and simple guise, she may be, as he is, a lion of the tribe of Judah; and in her humility all men with loud hosannas will confess her greatness. But when, despising the mighty operation of the Spirit by the weak things of this world, she thinks to make herself bigger and more considerable, by using the way of civil force and jurisdiction, as she sits upon this lion she changes into an ass, and instead of hosannas every man pelts her with stones and dirt. Lastly, if the wisdom of the Romans feared to commit jurisdiction to an office of so high esteem and dread as was the censor's, we may see what a solecism in the art of policy it hath been, all this while through Christendom to give jurisdiction to ecclesiastical censure. For that strength, joined with religion, abused and pretended to ambitious ends, must of necessity breed the heaviest and most quelling tyranny not only upon the necks, but even to the souls of men: which if Christian Rome had been so cautious to prevent in her church, as pagan Rome was in her state, we had not such a lamentable experience thereof as now we have from thence upon all Christendom. For although I said before, that the church coveting

to ride upon the lionly form of jurisdiction, makes a transformation of herself into an ass, and becomes despicable, that is, to those whom God hath enlightened with true knowledge; but where they remain yet in the reliques of superstition, this is the extremity of their bondage and blindness, that while they think they do obeisance to the lordly vision of a lion, they do it to an ass, that through the just judgment of God is permitted to play the dragon among them because of their wilful stupidity. And let England here well rub her eyes, lest by leaving jurisdiction and church censure to the same persons, now that God hath been so long medicining her eyesight, she do not with her over-politic fetches mar all, and bring herself back again to worship this ass bestriding a lion. Having hitherto explained, that to ecclesiastical censure no jurisdictional power can be added, without a childish and dangerous oversight in policy, and a pernicious contradiction in evangelical discipline, as anon more fully, it will be next to declare wherein the true reason and force of church censure consists, which by then it shall be laid open to the root; so little is it that I fear lest any crookedness, any wrinkle or spot should be found in presbyterian government, that if Bodin, the famous French writer, though a papist, yet affirms that the commonwealth which maintains this discipline will certainly flourish in virtue and piety, I dare assure myself, that every true protestant will admire the integrity, the uprightness, the divine and gracious purposes thereof, and even for the reason of it so coherent with the doctrine of the gospel, beside the evidence of command in Scripture, will confess it to be the only true church government; and that, contrary to the whole end and mystery of Christ's coming in the flesh, a false appearance of the same is exercised by prelacy. But because some count it rigorous, and that hereby men shall be liable to a double punishment, I will begin somewhat higher, and speak of punishment; which, as it is an evil, I esteem to be of two sorts, or rather two degrees only, a reprobate conscience in this life, and hell in the other world. Whatever else men call punishment or censure, is not properly an evil, so it be not an illegal violence, but a saving medicine ordained of God both for the public and private good of man; who consisting of two parts, the inward and the outward, was by the eternal Providence left under two sorts of cure, the church and the magistrate. The magistrate

hath only to deal with the outward part, I mean not of the body alone, but of the mind in all her outward acts, which in scripture is called the outward man. So that it would be helpful to us if we might borrow such authority as the rhetoricians by patent may give us, with a kind of Promethean skill to shape and fashion this outward man into the similitude of a body, and set him visible before us ; imagining the inner man only as the soul. Thus then the civil magistrate looking only upon the outward man, (I say as a magistrate, for what he doth further, he doth it as a member of the church,) if he find in his complexion, skin, or outward temperature the signs and marks, or in his doings the effects of injustice, rapine, lust, cruelty, or the like, sometimes he shuts up as in frenetick or infectious diseases ; or confines within doors, as in every sickly estate. Sometimes he shaves by penalty or mulct, or else to cool and take down those luxuriant humours which wealth and excess have caused to abound. Otherwhiles he sears, he cauterizes, he scarifies, lets blood ; and finally, for utmost remedy cuts off. The patients, which most an end are brought into his hospital, are such as are far gone, and beside themselves, (unless they be falsely accused,) so that force is necessary to tame and quiet them in their unruly fits, before they can be made capable of a more human cure. His general end is the outward peace and welfare of the commonwealth, and civil happiness in this life. His particular end in every man is, by the infliction of pain, damage, and disgrace, that the senses and common perceivance might carry this message to the soul within, that it is neither easeful, profitable, nor praiseworthy in this life to do evil. Which must needs tend to the good of man, whether he be to live or die ; and be undoubtedly the first means to a natural man, especially an offender, which might open his eyes to a higher consideration of good and evil, as it is taught in religion. This is seen in the often penitence of those that suffer, who, had they escaped, had gone on sinning to an immeasurable heap, which is one of the extremest punishments. And this is all that the civil magistrate, as so being, confers to the healing of man's mind, working only by terrifying plasters upon the rind and orifice of the sore ; and by all outward appliances, as the logicians say, a posteriori, at the effect, and not from the cause; not once touching the inward bed of corruption, and that hectic

disposition to evil, the source of all vice and obliquity against the rule of law. Which how insufficient it is to cure the soul of man, we cannot better guess than by the art of bodily physic. Therefore God, to the intent of further healing man's depraved mind, to this power of the magistrate, which contents itself with the restraint of evil-doing in the external man, added that which we call censure, to purge it and remove it clean out of the inmost soul. In the beginning this authority seems to have been placed, as all both civil and religious rites once were, only in each father of a family ; afterwards, among the heathen, in the wise men and philosophers of the age ; but so as it was a thing voluntary, and no set government. More distinctly among the Jews, as being God's peculiar people, where the priests, Levites, prophets, and at last the scribes and pharisees, took charge of instructing and overseeing the lives of the people. But in the gospel, which is the straightest and the dearest covenant can be made between God and man, we being now his adopted sons, and nothing fitter for us to think on than to be like him, united to him, and, as he pleases to express it, to have fellowship with him ; it is all necessity that we should expect this blessed efficacy of healing our inward man to be ministered to us in a more familiar and effectual method than ever before. God being now no more a judge after the sentence of the law, nor, as it were, a schoolmaster of perishable rites, but a most indulgent father, governing his church as a family of sons in their discreet age ; and therefore, in the sweetest and mildest manner of paternal discipline, he hath committed this other office of preserving in healthful constitution the inner man, which may be termed the spirit of the soul, to his spiritual deputy the minister of each congregation ; who being best acquainted with his own flock, hath best reason to know all the secretest diseases likely to be there. And look by how much the internal man is more excellent and noble than the external, by so much is his cure more exactly, more thoroughly, and more particularly to be performed. For which cause the Holy Ghost by the apostles, joined to the minister, as assistant in this great office, sometimes a certain number of grave and faithful brethren, (for neither doth the physician do all in restoring his patient ; he prescribes, another prepares the medicine ; some tend, some

watch, some visit,) much more may a minister partly not see all, partly err as a man: besides, that nothing can be more for the mutual honour and love of the people to their pastor, and his to them, than when in select numbers and courses they are seen partaking and doing reverence to the holy duties of discipline by their serviceable and solemn presence, and receiving honour again from their employment, not now any more to be separated in the church by veils and partitions, as laics and unclean, but admitted to wait upon the tabernacle as the rightful clergy of Christ, a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifice in that meet place, to which God and the congregation shall call and assign them. And this all Christians ought to know, that the title of clergy St. Peter gave to all God's people, till pope Higinus and the succeeding prelates took it from them, appropriating that name to themselves and their priests only; and condemning the rest of God's inheritance to an injurious and alienate condition of laity, they separated from them by local partitions in churches, through their gross ignorance and pride imitating the old temple, and excluding the members of Christ from the property of being members, the bearing of orderly and fit offices in the ecclesiastical body; as if they had meant to sew up that Jewish veil, which Christ by his death on the cross rent in sunder. Although these usurpers could not so presently overmaster the liberties and lawful titles of God's freeborn church; but that Origen, being yet a layman, expounded the scriptures publicly, and was therein defended by Alexander of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Cæsarea, producing in his behalf divers examples, that the privilege of teaching was anciently permitted to many worthy laymen: and Cyprian in his epistles professes he will do nothing without the advice and assent of his assistant laics. Neither did the first Nicene council, as great and learned as it was, think it any robbery to receive in, and require the help and presence of many learned lay-brethren, as they were then called. Many other authorities to confirm this assertion, both out of scripture and the writings of next antiquity, Golartius hath collected in his notes upon Cyprian; whereby it will be evident that the laity, not only by apostolic permission, but by consent of many of the ancientest prelates, did participate in church offices as much as is desired any lay-elder should now do.

Sometimes also not the elders alone, but the whole body of the church is interested in the work of discipline, as oft as public satisfaction is given by those that have given public scandal. Not to speak now of her right in elections. But another reason there is in it, which though religion did not commend to us, yet moral and civil prudence could not but extol. It was thought of old in philosophy, that shame, or to call it better, the reverence of our elders, our brethren, and friends, was the greatest incitement to virtuous deeds, and the greatest dissuasion from unworthy attempts that might be. Hence we may read in the Iliad, where Hector being wished to retire from the battle, many of his forces being routed, makes answer, that he durst not for shame, lest the Trojan knights and dames should think he did ignobly. And certain it is, that whereas terror is thought such a great stickler in a commonwealth, honourable shame is a far greater, and has more reason: for where shame is, there is fear; but where fear is, there is not presently shame. And if anything may be done to inbreed in us this generous and Christianly reverence one of another, the very nurse and guardian of piety and virtue, it cannot sooner be than by such a discipline in the church, as may use us to have in awe the assemblies of the faithful, and to count it a thing most grievous, next to the grieving of God's Spirit, to offend those whom he hath put in authority, as a healing superintendence over our lives and behaviours, both to our own happiness, and that we may not give offence to good men, who, without amends by us made, dare not, against God's command, hold communion with us in holy things. And this will be accompanied with a religious dread of being outcast from the company of saints, and from the fatherly protection of God in his church, to consort with the devil and his angels. But there is yet a more ingenuous and noble degree of honest shame, or, call it, if you will, an esteem, whereby men bear an inward reverence toward their own persons. And if the love of God, as a fire sent from heaven to be ever kept alive upon the altars of our hearts, be the first principle of all godly and virtuous actions in men, this pious and just honouring of ourselves is the second, and may be thought as the radical moisture and fountain-head, whence every laudable and worthy enterprise issues forth. And although I have given it the name of a liquid thing, yet it is not

incontinent to bound itself, as humid things are, but hath in it a most restraining and powerful abstinence to start back, and glob itself upward from the mixture of any ungenerous and unbeseeming motion, or any soil wherewith it may peril to stain itself. Something I confess it is to be ashamed of evildoing in the presence of any ; and to reverence the opinion and the countenance of a good man rather than a bad, fearing most in his sight to offend, goes so far as almost to be virtuous ; yet this is but still the fear of infamy, and many such, when they find themselves alone, saving their reputation, will compound with other scruples, and come to a close treaty with their dearer vices in secret. But he that holds himself in reverence and due esteem, both for the dignity of God's image upon him, and for the price of his redemption, which he thinks is visibly marked upon his forehead, accounts himself both a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth than to deject and defile, with such a debasement, and such a pollution as sin is, himself so highly ransomed and ennobled to a new friendship and filial relation with God. Nor can he fear so much the offence and reproach of others, as he dreads and would blush at the reflection of his own severe and modest eye upon himself, if it should see him doing or imagining that which is sinful, though in the deepest secrecy. How shall a man know to do himself this right, how to perform his honourable duty of estimation and respect towards his own soul and body ? which way will lead him best to this hill-top of sanctity and goodness, above which there is no higher ascent but to the love of God, which from this self-pious regard cannot be asunder ? No better way doubtless, than to let him duly understand, that as he is called by the high calling of God, to be holy and pure, so is he by the same appointment ordained, and by the church's call admitted, to such offices of discipline in the church, to which his own spiritual gifts, by the example of apostolic institution, have authorized him. For we have learned that the scornful term of laic, the consecrating of temples, carpets, and tablecloths, the railing in of a repugnant and contradictive mount Sinai in the gospel, as if the touch of a lay-christian, who is nevertheless God's living temple, could profane dead judaisms, the exclusion of Christ's people from the offices of holy discipline through the pride of a usurping clergy, causes the rest to have

an unworthy and abject opinion of themselves, to approach to holy duties with a slavish fear, and to unholy doings with a familiar boldness. For seeing such a wide and terrible distance between religious things and themselves, and that in respect of a wooden table, and the perimeter of holy ground about it, a flagon pot, and a linen corporal, the priest esteems their layships unhallowed and unclean, they fear religion with such a fear as loves not, and think the purity of the gospel too pure for them, and that any uncleanness is more suitable to their unconsecrated estate. But when every good Christian, thoroughly acquainted with all those glorious privileges of sanctification and adoption, which render him more sacred than any dedicated altar or element, shall be restored to his right in the church, and not excluded from such place of spiritual government, as his Christian abilities, and his approved good life in the eye and testimony of the church shall prefer him to, this and nothing sooner will open his eyes to a wise and true valuation of himself, (which is so requisite and high a point of Christianity,) and will stir him up to walk worthy the honourable and grave employment wherewith God and the church hath dignified him; not fearing lest he should meet with some outward holy thing in religion, which his lay-touch or presence might profane; but lest something unholy from within his own heart should dishonour and profane in himself that priestly unction and clergy-right whereto Christ hath entitled him. Then would the congregation of the Lord soon recover the true likeness and visage of what she is indeed, a holy generation, a royal priesthood, a saintly communion, the household and city of God. And this I hold to be another considerable reason why the functions of church government ought to be free and open to any Christian man, though never so laic, if his capacity, his faith, and prudent demeanour, commend him. And this the apostles warrant us to do. But the prelates object, that this will bring profaneness into the church: to whom may be replied, that none have brought that in more than their own irreligious courses, nor more driven holiness out of living into lifeless things. For whereas God, who hath cleansed every beast and creeping worm, would not suffer St. Peter to call them common or unclean, the prelate bishops, in their printed orders hung up in churches, have proclaimed the best of creatures, mankind, so unpurified and contagious,

that for him to lay his hat or his garment upon the chancel table, they have defined it no less heinous, in express words, than to profane the table of the Lord. And thus have they by their Canaanitish doctrine, (for that which was to the Jew but Jewish, is to the Christian no better than Canaanitish,) thus have they made common and unclean, thus have they made profane that nature which God hath not only cleansed, but Christ also hath assumed. And now that the equity and just reason is so perspicuous, why in ecclesiastic censure the assistance should be added of such as whom not the vile odour of gain and fees, (forbid it, God, and blow it with a whirlwind out of our land!) but charity, neighbourhood, and duty to church government hath called together, where could a wise man wish a more equal, gratuitous, and meek examination of any offence, that he might happen to commit against Christianity, than here? Would he prefer those proud simoniacal courts? Thus therefore the minister assisted attends his heavenly and spiritual cure: where we shall see him both in the course of his proceeding, and first in the excellency of his end, from the magistrate far different, and not more different than excelling. His end is to recover all that is of man, both soul and body, to an everlasting health; and yet as for worldly happiness, which is the proper sphere wherein the magistrate cannot but confine his motion without a hideous exorbitancy from law, so little aims the minister, as his intended scope, to procure the much prosperity of this life, that oftentimes he may have cause to wish much of it away, as a diet puffing up the soul with a slimy fleshiness, and weakening her principal organic parts. Two heads of evil he has to cope with, ignorance and malice. Against the former he provides the daily manna of incorruptible doctrine, not at those set meals only in public, but as oft as he shall know that each infirmity or constitution requires. Against the latter with all the branches thereof, not meddling with that restraining and styptic surgery, which the law uses, not indeed against the malady, but against the eruptions, and outermost effects thereof; he on the contrary, beginning at the prime causes and roots of the disease, sends in those two divine ingredients of most cleansing power to the soul, admonition and reproof; besides which two there is no drug or antidote that can reach to purge the mind, and without which all other experiments

are but vain, unless by accident. And he that will not let these pass into him, though he be the greatest king, as Plato affirms, must be thought to remain impure within, and unknowing of those things wherein his pureness and his knowledge should most appear. As soon therefore as it may be discerned that the Christian patient, by feeding otherwhere on meats not allowable, but of evil juice, hath disordered his diet, and spread an ill-humour through his veins, immediately disposing to a sickness, the minister, as being much nearer both in eye and duty than the magistrate, speeds him betimes to overtake that diffused malignance with some gentle potion of admonishment; or if aught be obstructed, puts in his opening and discussive confections. This not succeeding after once or twice, or oftener, in the presence of two or three his faithful brethren appointed thereto, he advises him to be more careful of his dearest health, and what it is that he so rashly hath let down into the divine vessel of his soul, God's temple. If this obtain not, he then, with the counsel of more assistants, who are informed of what diligence hath been already used, with more speedy remedies lays nearer siege to the entrenched causes of his distemper, not sparing such fervent and well-aimed reproofs as may best give him to see the dangerous estate wherein he is. To this also his brethren and friends entreat, exhort, adjure; and all these endeavours, as there is hope left, are more or less repeated. But if neither the regard of himself, nor the reverence of his elders and friends prevail with him to leave his vicious appetite, then as the time urges, such engines of terror God hath given into the hand of his minister, as to search the tenderest angles of the heart: one while he shakes his stubbornness with racking convulsions nigh despair; otherwhiles with deadly corrosives he gripes the very roots of his faulty liver to bring him to life through the entry of death. Hereto the whole church beseech him, beg of him, deplore him, pray for him. After all this performed with what patience and attendance is possible, and no relenting on his part, having done the utmost of their cure, in the name of God and of the church they dissolve their fellowship with him, and holding forth the dreadful sponge of excommunication, pronounce him wiped out of the list of God's inheritance, and in the custody of Satan till he repent. Which horrid sentence,

though it touch neither life nor limb, nor any worldly possession, yet has it such a penetrating force, that swifter than any chemical sulphur, or that lightning which harms not the skin, and rifles the entrails, it scorches the inmost soul. Yet even this terrible denouncement is left to the church for no other cause but to be as a rough and vehement cleansing medicine, where the malady is obdurate, a mortifying to life, a kind of saving by undoing. And it may be truly said, that as the mercies of wicked men are cruelties, so the cruelties of the church are mercies. For if repentance sent from Heaven meet this lost wanderer, and draw him out of that steep journey wherein he was hastening towards destruction, to come and reconcile to the church, if he bring with him his bill of health, and that he is now clear of infection, and of no danger to the other sheep; then with incredible expressions of joy all his brethren receive him, and set before him those perfumed banquets of Christian consolation; with precious ointments bathing and fomenting the old, and now to be forgotten stripes, which terror and shame had inflicted; and thus with heavenly solaces they cheer up his humble remorse, till he regain his first health and felicity. This is the approved way, which the gospel prescribes, these are the "spiritual weapons of holy censure, and ministerial warfare, not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." What could be done more for the healing and reclaiming that divine particle of God's breathing; the soul? and what could be done less? he that would hide his faults from such a wholesome curing as this, and count it a twofold punishment, as some do, is like a man that having foul diseases about him, perishes for shame, and the fear he has of a rigorous incision to come upon his flesh. We shall be able by this time to discern whether prelatical jurisdiction be contrary to the gospel or no. First, therefore, the government of the gospel being economical and paternal, that is, of such a family where there be no servants, but all sons in obedience, not in servility, as cannot be denied by him that lives but within the sound of scripture; how can the prelates justify to have turned the fatherly orders of Christ's household, the

blessed meekness of his lowly roof, those ever-open and inviting doors of his dwellinghouse, which delight to be frequented with only filial accesses; how can they justify to have turned these domestic privileges into the bar of a proud judicial court, where fees and clamours keep shop and drive a trade, where bribery and corruption solicits, paltering the free and moneyless power of discipline with a carnal satisfaction by the purse? Contrition, humiliation, confession, the very sighs of a repentant spirit, are there sold by the penny. That undeflowered and unblemishable simplicity of the gospel, not she herself, for that could never be, but a false-whited, a lawny resemblance of her, like that airborn Helena in the fables, made by the sorcery of prelates, instead of calling her disciples from the receipt of custom, is now turned publican herself; and gives up her body to a mercenary whoredom under those fornicated arches, which she calls God's house, and in the sight of those her altars, which she hath set up to be adored, makes merchandise of the bodies and souls of men. Rejecting purgatory for no other reason, as it seems, than because her greediness cannot defer, but had rather use the utmost extortion of redeemed penances in this life. But because these matters could not be thus carried without a begged and borrowed force from worldly authority, therefore prelacy, slighting the deliberate and chosen council of Christ in his spiritual government, whose glory is in the weakness of fleshly things, to tread upon the crest of the world's pride and violence by the power of spiritual ordinances, hath on the contrary made these her friends and champions, which are Christ's enemies in this his high design, smothering and extinguishing the spiritual force of his bodily weakness in the discipline of his church with the boisterous and carnal tyranny of an undue, unlawful, and un-gospel-like jurisdiction. And thus prelacy, both in her fleshly supportments, in her carnal doctrine of ceremony and tradition, in her violent and secular power, going quite counter to the prime end of Christ's coming in the flesh, that is, to reveal his truth, his glory, and his might, in a clean contrary manner than prelacy seeks to do, thwarting and defeating the great mystery of God; I do not conclude that prelacy is antichristian, for what need I? the things themselves conwude it. Yet if such like practices, and not many worse than

these of our prelates, in that great darkness of the Roman church, have not exempted both her and her present members from being judged to be antichristian in all orthodoxal esteem ; I cannot think but that it is the absolute voice of trutn and all her children to pronounce this prelacy, and these her dark deeds in the midst of this great light wherein we live, to be more antichristian than antichrist himself.

THE CONCLUSION.

The Mischief that Prelacy does in the State.

I ADD one thing more to those great ones that are so fond of prelacy : this is certain, that the gospel being the hidden might of Christ, as hath been heard, that ever a victorious power joined with it, like him in the Revelation that went forth on the white horse with his bow and his crown, conquering and to conquer. If we let the angel of the gospel ride on his own way, he does his proper business, conquering the high thoughts, and the proud reasonings of the flesh, and brings them under to give obedience to Christ with the salvation of many souls. But if ye turn him out of his road, and in a manner force him to express his irresistible power by a doctrine of carnal might, as prelacy is, he will use that fleshly strength, which ye put into his hands, to subdue your spirits by a servile and blind superstition ; and that again shall hold such dominion over your captive minds, as returning with an insatiate greediness and force upon your worldly wealth and power, wherewith to deck and magnify herself, and her false worships, he shall spoil and havoc your estates, disturb your ease, diminish your honour, enthral your liberty under the swelling mood of a proud clergy, who will not serve or feed your souls with spiritual food ; look not for it, they have not wherewithal, or if they had, it is not in their purpose. But when they have glutted their ungrateful bodies, at least, if it be possible that those open sepulchres should ever be glutted, and when they have stuffed their idolish temples with the wasteful pillage of your estates, will they yet have any compassion upon you, and that poor pittance which they have left you ; will they be but so good to you as that ravisher was to his sister, when he had used her at his pleasure ; will they but only hate ye, and so turn ye

loose ? No, they will not, lords and commons, they will not favour ye so much. What will they do then, in the name of God and saints, what will these manhaters yet with more despite and mischief do ? I will tell ye, or at least remember ye : (for most of ye know it already :) that they may want nothing to make them true merchants of Babylon, as they have done to your souls, they will sell your bodies, your wives, your children, your liberties, your parliaments, all these things ; and if there be ought else dearer than these, they will sell at an outcry in their pulpits to the arbitrary and illegal dispose of any one that may hereafter be called a king, whose mind shall serve him to listen to their bargain. And by their corrupt and servile doctrines boring our ears to an everlasting slavery, as they have done hitherto, so will they yet do their best to repeal and erase every line and clause of both our great charters. Nor is this only what they will do, but what they hold as the main reason and mystery of their advancement that they must do ; be the prince never so just and equal to his subjects, yet such are their malicious and depraved eyes, that they so look on him, and so understand him, as if he required no other gratitude or piece of service from them than this. And indeed they stand so opportunely for the disturbing or the destroying of a state, being a knot of creatures, whose dignities, means, and preferments have no foundation in the gospel, as they themselves acknowledge, but only in the prince's favour, and to continue so long to them, as by pleasing him they shall deserve : whence it must needs be they should bend all their intentions and services to no other ends but to his, that if it should happen that a tyrant (God turn such a scourge from us to our enemies) should come to grasp the sceptre, here were his spearmen and his lances, here were his firelocks ready, he should need no other pretorian band nor pensionary than these, if they could once with their perfidious preachments awe the people.* For although the prelates in time of popery were

* It is in these wild outbreaks of puritanical eloquence that we are to look for the chief cause of Milton's unpopularity. Had he lived in our own day he would still, perhaps, have been intemperate in controversy ; though, after all, he was not one of those who desired to

" Decide all controversies by
Infallible artillery ;

sometimes friendly enough to Magna Charta, it was because they stood upon their own bottom, without their main dependence on the royal nod : but now being well acquainted that the protestant religion, if she will reform herself rightly by the scriptures, must undress them of all their gilded vanities, and reduce them as they were at first to the lowly and equal order of presbyters, they know it concerns them nearly to study the times more than the text, and to lift up their eyes to the hills of the court, from whence only comes their help ; but if their pride grow weary of this crouching and observance, as ere long it would, and that yet their minds climb still to a higher ascent of worldly honour, this only refuge can remain to them, that they must of necessity contrive to bring themselves and us back again to the pope's supremacy ; and this we see they had by fair degrees of late been doing. These be the two fair supporters between which the strength of prelacy is borne up, either of inducing tyranny, or of reducing popery. Hence also we may judge that prelacy is mere falsehood. For the property of truth is, where she is publicly taught to unyoke and set free the minds and spirits of a nation first from the thraldom of sin and superstition, after which all honest and legal freedom of civil life cannot be long absent ; but prelacy, whom the tyrant custom begot, a natural tyrant in religion, and in state the agent and minister of tyranny, seems to have had this fatal gift in her nativity, like another Midas, that whatsoever she should touch or come near either in ecclesial or political government, it should turn, not to gold, though she for her part could wish it, but to the dross and scum of slavery, breeding and settling both in the bodies and the souls of all such as do not in time, with the sovereign treacle of sound doctrine, provide to fortify their hearts against her hierarchy. The service of God, who is truth, her liturgy confesses to be

And proved their doctrines orthodox,
By apostolic blows and knocks ;
Called fire and sword, and desolation,
A godly, thorough reformation,
Which ever must be carried on,
And still be doing—never done."

He dealt hard blows at his adversaries ; but his appeals were made to reason, not to physical force ; and the weapons he used were arguments and syllogisms, not howitzers and demi-culverines.—ED.

perfect freedom ; but her works and her opinions declare, that the service of prelacy is perfect slavery, and by consequence perfect falsehood. Which makes me wonder much that many of the gentry, studious men as I hear, should engage themselves to write and speak publicly in her defence ; but that I believe their honest and ingenuous natures coming to the universities to store themselves with good and solid learning, and there unfortunately fed with nothing else but the scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry, were sent home again with such a scholastic bur in their throats, as hath stopped and hindered all true and generous philosophy from entering, cracked their voices for ever with metaphysical gargarisms, and hath made them admire a sort of formal outside men prelatically addicted, whose unchastened and unwrought minds were never yet initiated or subdued under the true lore of religion or moral virtue, which two are the best and greatest points of learning ; but either slightly trained up in a kind of hypocritical and hackney course of literature to get their living by, and dazzle the ignorant, or else fondly over-studied in useless controversies, except those which they use with all the specious and delusive subtlety they are able, to defend their prelatical Sparta ; having a gospel and church government set before their eyes, as a fair field wherein they might exercise the greatest virtues and the greatest deeds of Christian authority, in mean fortunes and little furniture of this world ; (which even the sage heathen writers, and those old Fabritii and Curii well knew to be a manner of working, than which nothing could liken a mortal man more to God, who delights most to work from within himself, and not by the heavy luggage of corporeal instruments;) they understand it not, and think no such matter, but admire and dote upon worldly riches and honours, with an easy and intemperate life, to the bane of Christianity : yea, they and their seminaries shame not to profess, to petition, and never leave pealing our ears, that unless we fat them like boars, and cram them as they list with wealth, with deaneries and pluralities, with baronies and stately preferments, all learning and religion will go underfoot. Which is such a shameless, such a bestial plea, and of that odious impudence in churchmen, who should be to us a pattern of temperance and

frugal mediocrity, who should teach us to contemn this world and the gaudy things thereof, according to the promise which they themselves require from us in baptism, that should the scripture stand by and be mute, there is not that sect of philosophers among the heathen so dissolute, no not Epicurus, nor Aristippus with all his Cyrenaic rout, but would shut his school-doors against such greasy sophisters; not any college of mountebanks, but would think scorn to discover in themselves with such a brazen forehead the outrageous desire of filthy lucre. Which the prelates make so little conscience of, that they are ready to fight, and if it lay in their power, to massacre all good Christians under the names of horrible schismatics, for only finding fault with their temporal dignities, their unconscionable wealth and revenues, their cruel authority over their brethren, that labour in the word, while they snore in their luxurious excess: openly proclaiming themselves now in the sight of all men, to be those which for a while they sought to cover under sheep's clothing, ravenous and savage wolves, threatening inroads and bloody incursions upon the flock of Christ, which they took upon them to feed, but now claim to devour as their prey. More like that huge dragon of Egypt, breathing out waste and desolation to the land, unless he were daily fattened with virgin's blood. Him our old patron St. George by his matchless valour slew, as the prelate of the garter that reads his collect can tell. And if our princes and knights will imitate the fame of that old champion, as by their order of knighthood solemnly taken they vow, far be it that they should uphold and side with this English dragon; but rather to do as indeed their oaths bind them, they should make it their knightly adventure to pursue and vanquish this mighty sail-winged monster, that menaces to swallow up the land, unless her bottomless gorge may be satisfied with the blood of the king's daughter, the church; and may, as she was wont, fill her dark and infamous den with the bones of the saints. Nor will any one have reason to think this as too incredible or too tragical to be spoken of prelaty, if he consider well from what a mass of slime and mud the slothful, the covetous, and ambitious hopes of church-promotions and fat bishoprics, she is bred up and muzzled in, like a great Python, from her youth, to

prove the general poison both of doctrine and good discipline in the land. For certainly such hopes and such principles of earth as these wherein she welters from a young one, are the immediate generation both of a slavish and tyrannous life to follow, and a pestiferous contagion to the whole kingdom, till like that fen-born serpent she be shot to death with the darts of the sun, the pure and powerful beams of God's word. And this may serve to describe to us in part what prelaty hath been, and what, if she stand, she is like to be towards the whole body of people in England. Now that it may appear how she is not such a kind of evil as hath any good or use in it, which many evils have, but a distilled quintessence, a pure elixir of mischief, pestilent alike to all, I shall shew briefly, ere I conclude, that the prelates, as they are to the subjects a calamity, so are they the greatest underminers and betrayers of the monarch, to whom they seem to be most favourable. I cannot better liken the state and person of a king than to that mighty Nazarite Samson ; who being disciplined from his birth in the precepts and the practice of temperance and sobriety, without the strong drink of injurious and excessive desires, grows up to a noble strength and perfection with those his illustrious and sunny locks, the laws, waving and curling about his godlike shoulders. And while he keeps them about him undiminished and unshorn, he may with the jawbone of an ass, that is, with the word of his meanest officer, suppress and put to confusion thousands of those that rise against his just power. But laying down his head among the strumpet flatteries of prelates, while he sleeps and thinks no harm, they wickedly shaving off all those bright and weighty tresses of his law, and just prerogatives, which were his ornament and strength, deliver him over to indirect and violent counsels, which, as those Philistines, put out the fair and far-sighted eyes of his natural discerning, and make him grind in the prisonhouse of their sinister ends and practices upon him : till he, knowing this prelatical rasor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden beams of law and right ; and they sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself. This is the sum of their loyal service to kings ; yet these are the

men that still cry, The king, the king, the Lord's anointed! We grant it; and wonder how they came to light upon anything so true; and wonder more, if kings be the Lord's anointed, how they dare thus oil over and besmear so holy an unction with the corrupt and putrid ointment of their base flatteries; which while they smooth the skin, strike inward and envenom the lifeblood. What fidelity kings can expect from prelates, both examples past, and our present experience of their doings at this day, whereon is grounded all that hath been said, may suffice to inform us. And if they be such clippers of regal power, and shavers of the laws, how they stand affected to the lawgiving parliament, yourselves, worthy peers and commons, can best testify; the current of whose glorious and immortal actions hath been only opposed by the obscure and pernicious designs of the prelates, until their insolence broke out to such a bold affront, as hath justly immured their haughty looks within strong walls. Nor have they done anything of late with more diligence, than to hinder or break the happy assembling of parliaments, however needful to repair the shattered and disjointed frame of the commonwealth; or if they cannot do this, to cross, to disenable, and traduce all parliamentary proceedings. And this, if nothing else, plainly accuses them to be no lawful members of the house, if they thus perpetually mutiny against their own body. And though they pretend, like Solomon's harlot, that they have right thereto, by the same judgment that Solomon gave, it cannot belong to them, wheras it is not only their assent, but their endeavour continually to divide parliaments in twain; and not only by dividing, but by all other means to abolish and destroy the free use of them to all posterity. For the which, and for all their former misdeeds, whereof this book and many volumes more cannot contain the moiety, I shall move ye, lords, in the behalf I dare say of many thousand good Christians, to let your justice and speedy sentence pass against this great malefactor, prelaty. And yet in the midst of rigour I would beseech ye to think of mercy; and such a mercy, (I fear I shall overshoot with a desire to save this falling prelaty,) such a mercy (if I may venture to say it) as may exceed that which for only ten righteous persons would have saved Sodom. Not that I dare advise ye to contend with God, whether he

or you shall be more merciful, but in your wise esteems to balance the offences of those peccant cities with these enormous riots of ungodly misrule, that prelacy hath wrought both in the church of Christ, and in the state of this kingdom. And if ye think ye may with a pious presumption strive to go beyond God in mercy, I shall not be one now that would dissuade ye. Though God for less than ten just persons would not spare Sodom, yet if you can find, after due search, but only one good thing in prelacy, either to religion or civil government, to king or parliament, to prince or people, to law, liberty, wealth, or learning, spare her, let her live, let her spread among ye, till with her shadow all your dignities and honours, and all the glory of the land be darkened and obscured. But on the contrary, if she be found to be malignant, hostile, destructive to all these, as nothing can be surer, then let your severe and impartial doom imitate the divine vengeance; rain down your punishing force upon this godless and oppressing government, and bring such a dead sea of subversion upon her, that she may never in this land rise more to afflict the holy reformed church, and the elect people of God.

OF TRUE RELIGION, HERESY, SCHISM, TOLERATION;

AND WHAT BEST MEANS MAY BE USED

AGAINST THE GROWTH OF POPERY.

[FIRST PUBLISHED 1673.]

IT is unknown to no man, who knows aught of concernment among us, that the increase of popery is at this day no small trouble and offence to greatest part of the nation; and the rejoicing of all good men that it is so: the more their rejoicing, that God hath given a heart to the people, to remember still their great and happy deliverance from popish thraldom, and to esteem so highly the precious benefit of his gospel, so freely and so peaceably enjoyed among them. Since, therefore, some have already in public, with many considerable arguments, exhorted the people to beware the growth of this Romish weed, I thought it no less than a common duty to lend my hand, how unable soever, to so good a purpose. I will not now enter into the labyrinth of councils and fathers, an entangled wood, which the papists love to fight in, not with hope of victory, but to obscure the shame of an open overthrow, which yet in that kind of combat many heretofore, and one of late, hath eminently given them. And such manner of dispute with them to learned men is useful and very commendable. But I shall insist now on what is plainer to common apprehension, and what I have to say without longer introduction.

True religion is the true worship and service of God, learned and believed from the word of God only. No man or angel can know how God would be worshipped and served unless God reveal it: he hath revealed and taught it us in the holy scriptures by inspired ministers, and in the gospel by his own Son and his apostles, with strictest command, to reject all other traditions or additions whatsoever: according to that of St. Paul, “Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema, or accursed.” And Deut. iv. 2.

"Ye shall not add to the word which I command you neither shall you diminish aught from it." Rev. xxii. 18, 19; "If any man shall add, &c. If any man shall take away from the words," &c. With good and religious reason, therefore, all protestant churches with one consent, and particularly the church of England in her thirty-nine articles, article 6th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and elsewhere, maintain these two points, as the main principles of true religion—that the rule of true religion is the word of God only; and that their faith ought not to be an implicit faith, that is, to believe, though as the church believes, against or without express authority of scripture. And if all protestants, as universally as they hold these two principles, so attentively and religiously would observe them, they would avoid and cut off many debates and contentions, schisms and persecutions, which too oft have been among them, and more firmly unite against the common adversary. For hence it directly follows, that no true protestant can persecute, or not tolerate, his fellow-protestant, though dissenting from him in some opinions, but he must flatly deny and renounce these two his own main principles, whereon true religion is founded; while he compels his brother from that which he believes as the manifest word of God, to an implicit faith (which he himself condemns) to the endangering of his brother's soul, whether by rash belief, or outward conformity: for "whatsoever is not of faith is sin."

I will now as briefly shew what is false religion, or heresy, which will be done as easily; for of contraries the definitions must needs be contrary. Heresy, therefore, is a religion taken up and believed from the traditions of men, and additions to the word of God. Whence also it follows clearly, that of all known sects, or pretended religions, at this day in Christendom, popery is the only or the greatest heresy; and he, who is so forward to brand all others for heretics, the obstinate papist, the only heretic. Hence one of their own famous writers found just cause to style the Romish church "Mother of error, school of heresy." And whereas the papist boasts himself to be a Roman Catholic, it is a mere contradic^tr, one of the pope's bulls, as if he should say, universal particu^{lar}, a catholic schismatic. For catholic in Greek signifies universal; and the Christian church was so called, as consisting of all nations to whom the gospel was to be preached,

in contradistinction to the Jewish church, which consisted for the most part of Jews only.

Sects may be in a true church as well as in a false, when men follow the doctrine too much for the teacher's sake, whom they think almost infallible; and this becomes, through infirmity, implicit faith; and the name sectary pertains to such a disciple.

Schism is a rent or division in the church, when it comes to the separating of congregations; and may also happen to a true church, as well as to a false; yet in the true needs not tend to the breaking of communion, if they can agree in the right administration of that wherein they communicate, keeping their other opinions to themselves, not being destructive to faith. The pharisees and sadducees were two sects, yet both met together in their common worship of God at Jerusalem. But here the papist will angrily demand, What! are Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Socinians, Arminians, no heretics? I answer, All these may have some errors, but are no heretics. Heresy is in the will and choice professedly against scripture; error is against the will, in misunderstanding the scripture after all sincere endeavours to understand it rightly: hence it was said well by one of the ancients, "Err I may, but a heretic I will not be." It is a human frailty to err, and no man is infallible here on earth. But so long as all these profess to set the word of God only before them as the rule of faith and obedience; and use all diligence and sincerity of heart, by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for illumination of the Holy Spirit, to understand the rule and obey it, they have done what man can do: God will assuredly pardon them, as he did the friends of Job; good and pious men, though much mistaken, as there it appears, in some points of doctrine. But some will say, with Christians it is otherwise, whom God hath promised by his Spirit to teach all things. True, all things absolutely necessary to salvation: but the hottest disputes among protestants, calmly and charitably inquired into, will be found less than such. The Lutheran holds consubstantiation; an error indeed, but not mortal. The Calvinist is taxed with predestination, and to make God the author of sin; not with any dishonourable thought of God, but it may be over-zealously asserting his absolute power, not without plea of scripture. The anabaptist is accused of deny-

ing infants their right to baptism ; again they say, they deny nothing but what the scripture denies them. The Arian and Socinian are charged to dispute against the Trinity ; they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to scripture and the apostolic creed ; as for terms of trinity, triunity, coessentiality, tripersonality, and the like, they reject them as scholastic notions, not to be found in scripture, which by a general protestant maxim is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words, belonging to so high a matter, and so necessary to be known ; a mystery indeed in their sophistic subtleties, but in scripture a plain doctrine. Their other opinions are of less moment. They dispute the satisfaction of Christ, or rather the word "satisfaction," as not scriptural : but they acknowledge him both God and their Saviour. The Arminian, lastly, is condemned for setting up free will against free grace ; but that imputation he disclaims in all his writings, and grounds himself largely upon scripture only. It cannot be denied, that the authors or late revivers of all these sects or opinions were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious men, as appears by their lives written, and the same of their many eminent and learned followers, perfect and powerful in the scriptures, holy and unblamable in their lives : and it cannot be imagined that God would desert such painful and zealous labourers in his church, and oftentimes great sufferers for their conscience, to damnable errors and a reprobate sense, who had so often implored the assistance of his Spirit ; but rather, having made no man infallible, that he hath pardoned their errors, and accepts their pious endeavours, sincerely searching all things according to the rule of scripture, with such guidance and direction as they can obtain of God by prayer. What protestant then, who himself maintains the same principles, and disavows all implicit faith, would persecute, and not rather charitably tolerate, such men as these, unless he mean to abjure the principles of his own religion ? If it be asked, how far they should be tolerated ; I answer, doubtless equally, as being all protestants ; that is, on all occasions to give account of their faith, either by arguing, preaching in their several assemblies, public writing, and the freedom of printing. For if the French and Polonian protestants enjoy all this liberty among papists, much more may a protestant justly expect it among protes-

tants; and yet sometimes here among us, the one persecutes the other upon every slight pretence.

But he is wont to say, he enjoins only things indifferent. Let them be so still ; who gave him authority to change their nature by enjoining them ? If by his own principles, as proved, he ought to tolerate controverted points of doctrine not slightly grounded on scripture, much more ought he not impose things indifferent without scripture. In religion nothing is indifferent ; but if it come once to be imposed, is either a command or a prohibition, and so consequently an addition to the word of God, which he professes to disallow. Besides, how unequal, how uncharitable must it needs be, to impose that which his conscience cannot urge him to impose, upon him whose conscience forbids him to obey ! What can it be but love of contention for things not necessary to be done, to molest the conscience of his brother, who holds them necessary to be not done ? To conclude, let such a one but call to mind his own principles above mentioned, and he must necessarily grant, that neither he can impose, nor the other believe or obey, aught in religion, but from the word of God only. More amply to understand this, may be read the 14th and 15th chapters to the Romans, and the contents of the 14th, set forth no doubt but with full authority of the church of England : the gloss is this : " Men may not contemn or condemn one the other for things indifferent." And in the 6th article above mentioned, " Whatsoever is not read in holy scripture, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man as an article of faith, or necessary to salvation." And certainly what is not so, is not to be required at all, as being an addition to the word of God expressly forbidden.

Thus this long and hot contest, whether protestants ought to tolerate one another, if men will be but rational and not partial, may be ended without need of more words to compose it.

Let us now inquire whether popery be tolerable or no. Popery is a double thing to deal with, and claims a twofold power, ecclesiastical and political, both usurped, and the one supporting the other.

But ecclesiastical is ever pretended to political. The pope by this mixed faculty pretends right to kingdoms and states,

and especially to this of England, thrones and unthrones kings, and absolves the people from their obedience to them ; sometimes interdicts to whole nations the public worship of God, shutting up their churches : and was wont to drain away greatest part of the wealth of this then miserable land, as part of his patrimony, to maintain the pride and luxury of his court and prelates ; and now, since, through the infinite mercy and favour of God, we have shaken off his Babylonish yoke, hath not ceased by his spies and agents, bulls and emissaries, once to destroy both king and parliament ; perpetually to seduce, corrupt, and pervert as many as they can of the people. Whether therefore it be fit or reasonable to tolerate men thus principled in religion towards the state, I submit it to the consideration of all magistrates, who are best able to provide for their own and the public safety. As for tolerating the exercise of their religion, supposing their state-activities not to be dangerous, I answer, that toleration is either public or private ; and the exercise of their religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way : not publicly, without grievous and unsufferable scandal given to all conscientious beholders ; not privately, without great offence to God, declared against all kind of idolatry, though secret. Ezek. viii. 7, 8 : “ And he brought me to the door of the court ; and when I looked, behold, a hole in the wall. Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall : and when I had digged, behold a door ; and he said unto me, Go in, and behold the wicked abominations that they do here.” And ver. 12 : “ Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark ? ” &c. And it appears by the whole chapter, that God was no less offended with these secret idolatries than with those in public ; and no less provoked, than to bring on and hasten his judgments on the whole land for these also.

Having shown thus, that popery, as being idolatrous, is not to be tolerated either in public or in private ; it must be now thought how to remove it, and hinder the growth thereof, I mean in our natives, and not foreigners, privileged by the law of nations. Are we to punish them by corporal punishment, or fines in their estates, upon account of their religion ? I suppose it stands not with the clemency of the gospel, more than what appertains to the security of the state : but first we

must remove their idolatry, and all the furniture thereof, whether idols or the mass wherein they adore their God under bread and wine: for the commandment forbids to adore, not only "any graven image, but the likeness of anything in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them, for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." If they say, that by removing their idols we violate their consciences, we have no warrant to regard conscience which is not grounded on scripture: and they themselves confess in their late defences, that they hold not their images necessary to salvation, but only as they are enjoined them by tradition.

Shall we condescend to dispute with them? The scripture is our only principle in religion; and by that only they will not be judged, but will add other principles of their own, which, forbidden by the word of God, we cannot assent to. And [in several places of the gospel] the common maxim also in logic is, "against them who deny principles, we are not to dispute." Let them bound their disputation on the scripture only, and an ordinary protestant, well read in the Bible, may turn and wind their doctors. They will not go about to prove their idolatries by the word of God, but turn to shifts and evasions, and frivolous distinctions; idols they say are laymen's books, and a great means to stir up pious thoughts and devotion in the learnedest. I say, they are no means of God's appointing, but plainly the contrary: let them hear the prophets. Jer. x. 8: "The stock is a doctrine of vanities." Hab. ii. 18: "What profiteth the graven image, that the maker thereof hath graven it; the molten image and a teacher of lies?" But they allege in their late answers, that the laws of Moses, given only to the Jews, concern not us under the gospel; and remember not that idolatry is forbidden as expressly: but with these wiles and fallacies "compassing sea and land, like the pharisees of old, to make one proselyte," they lead away privily many simple and ignorant souls, men and women, "and make them twofold more the children of hell than themselves," Matt. xxiii. 15. But the apostle hath well warned us, I may say, from such deceivers as these, for their mystery was then working. "I beseech you, brethren," saith he, "mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them;

for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good words and fair speeches deceive the heart of the simple." Rom. xvi. 17, 18.

The next means to hinder the growth of popery will be, to read duly and diligently the holy scriptures, which, as St. Paul saith to Timothy, who had known them from a child, "are able to make wise unto salvation." And to the whole church of Colossi: "Let the word of Christ dwell in you plentifully, with all wisdom," Col. iii. 16. The papal antichristian church permits not her laity to read the Bible in their own tongue: our church, on the contrary, hath proposed it to all men, and to this end translated it into English, with profitable notes on what is met with obscure, though what is most necessary to be known be still plainest; that all sorts and degrees of men, not understanding the original, may read it in their mother tongue. Neither let the countryman, the tradesman, the lawyer, the physician, the statesman, excuse himself by his much business from the studious reading thereof. Our Saviour saith, Luke x. 41, 42, "Thou art careful and troubled about many things; but one thing is needful." If they were asked, they would be loath to set earthly things, wealth or honour, before the wisdom of salvation. Yet most men in the course and practice of their lives are found to do so; and through unwillingness to take the pains of understanding their religion by their own diligent study, would fain be saved by a deputy. Hence comes implicit faith, ever learning and never taught, much hearing and small proficience, till want of fundamental knowledge easily turns to superstition or popery: therefore the apostle admonishes, Eph. iv. 14, "That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive." Every member of the church, at least of any breeding or capacity, so well ought to be grounded in spiritual knowledge, as, if need be, to examine their teachers themselves. Acts xvii. 11: "They searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so." Rev. ii. 2: "Thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not." How should any private Christian try his teachers, unless he be well grounded himself in the rule of scripture, by which he is taught? As therefore among papists their ignorance in scripture chiefly upholds popery; so among protes-

tant people, the frequent and serious reading thereof will soonest pull popery down.

Another means to abate popery arises from the constant reading of scripture, wherein believers, who agree in the main, are everywhere exhorted to mutual forbearance and charity one towards the other, though dissenting in some opinions. It is written, that the coat of our Saviour was without seam; whence some would infer that there should be no division in the church of Christ. It should be so indeed; yet seams in the same cloth neither hurt the garment nor misbecome it; and not only seams, but schisms will be while men are fallible: but if they who dissent in matters not essential to belief, while the common adversary is in the field, shall stand jarring and pelting at one another, they will be soon routed and subdued. The papist with open mouth makes much advantage of our several opinions; not that he is able to confute the worst of them, but that we by our continual jangle among ourselves make them worse than they are indeed. To save ourselves, therefore, and resist the common enemy, it concerns us mainly to agree within ourselves, that with joint forces we may not only hold our own, but get ground: and why should we not? The gospel commands us to tolerate one another, though of various opinions, and hath promised a good and happy event thereof. Phil. iii. 15: "Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded; and if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you." And we are bid, 1 Thess. v. 21, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." St. Paul judged, that not only to tolerate, but to examine and prove all things, was no danger to our holding fast that which is good. How shall we prove all things, which includes all opinions at least founded on scripture, unless we not only tolerate them, but patiently hear them, and seriously read them? If he who thinks himself in the truth professes to have learnt it, not by implicit faith, but by attentive study of the scriptures, and full persuasion of heart, with what equity can he refuse to hear or read him who demonstrates to have gained his knowledge by the same way? Is it a fair course to assert truth, by arrogating to himself the only freedom of speech, and stopping the mouths of others equally gifted? This is the direct way to bring in that papistical implicit faith, which we all disclaim. They

pretend it would unsettle the weaker sort; the same groundless fear is pretended by the Romish clergy. At least, then, let them have leave to write in Latin, which the common people understand not; that what they hold may be discussed among the learned only. We suffer the idolatrous books of papists, without this fear, to be sold and read as common as our own: why not much rather of Anabaptists, Arians, Arminians, and Socinians? There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, his judgment sharpened, and the truth which he holds more firmly established. If then it be profitable for him to read, why should it not at least be tolerable and free for his adversary to write? In logic they teach, that contraries laid together more evidently appear: it follows, then, that all controversy being permitted, falsehood will appear more false, and truth the more true; which must needs conduce much, not only to the confounding of popery, but to the general confirmation of unimplicit truth.

The last means to avoid popery is, to amend our lives. It is a general complaint, that this nation of late years is grown more numerously and excessively vicious than heretofore; pride, luxury, drunkenness, whoredom, cursing, swearing, bold and open atheism everywhere abounding: where these grow, no wonder if popery also grow apace. There is no man so wicked but at sometimes his conscience will wring him with thoughts of another world, and the peril of his soul; the trouble and melancholy, which he conceives of true repentance and amendment, he endures not, but inclines rather to some carnal superstition, which may pacify and lull his conscience with some more pleasing doctrine. None more ready and officious to offer herself than the Romish, and opens wide her office, with all her faculties, to receive him; easy confession, easy absolution, pardons, indulgences, masses for him both quick and dead, Agnus Deis, relics, and the like: and he, instead of "working out his salvation with fear and trembling," straight thinks in his heart, (like another kind of fool than he in the Psalms,) to bribe God as a corrupt judge; and by his proctor, some priest, or friar, to buy out his peace with money, which he cannot with his repentance. For God, when men sin outrageously, and will not be admonished, gives over chastising them, perhaps by pestilence, fire, sword, or famine,

which may all turn to their good, and takes up his severest punishments, hardness, besottedness of heart, and idolatry, to their final perdition. Idolatry brought the heathen to heinous transgressions, Rom. ii. And heinous transgressions oftentimes bring the slight professors of true religion to gross idolatry : 1 Thes. ii. 11, 12, " For this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned who believe not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness." And Isaiah xliv. 18, speaking of idolaters, " They have not known nor understood, for he hath shut their eyes that they cannot see, and their hearts that they cannot understand." Let us therefore, using this last means, last here spoken of, but first to be done, amend our lives with all speed ; lest through impenitency we run into that stupidity which we now seek all means so warily to avoid, the worst of superstitions, and the heaviest of all God's judgments—popery.

A TREATISE OF CIVIL POWER IN ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES;

SHEWING THAT IT IS NOT LAWFUL FOR ANY POWER ON EARTH TO COMPEL
IN MATTERS OF RELIGION.

[FIRST PRINTED 1659.]

EDITOR'S PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

TOLAND, in his Life of Milton, having enumerated several of his learned and elaborate works, observes, that he at length "found leisure to address to the parliament this treatise, showing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of religion, whether speculative or practical, or in anything except immorality, or what evidently subverts the foundations of civil society ; for which reason he justly excludes popery from this toleration, for being not so much a religion as a politic faction, whereof the members, wheresoever they are, own the pope for their superior, to the prejudice of the allegiance due to their natural sovereigns. Besides that, they never tolerate others where they have the mastery ; and that their doctrine of dispensations, or keeping in faith with such as they count heretics, renders them worse than atheists, and the declared enemies of all mankind, besides those of their own communion."

This passage may be regarded as a remarkable illustration of the truth, that perfect toleration is one of the last virtues acquired by men in society. Both Milton and Toland were men of liberal opinions, generous character, and enlarged views, in politics and religion ; yet here we find them denouncing catholicism, not as a form of religion from which they differed, but as a political faction which they utterly detested. The principles, however, laid down by our great poet, though he could not impartially employ them himself, lead directly to universal toleration ; and while advocating them, he combats the interpretation vulgarly given to blasphemy, heresy, schism, &c., which, as he clearly shows, are things naturally indifferent in themselves. To blaspheme, is to speak injuriously and disparagingly, an act which becomes criminal only when such evil speaking is directed against the good. Heresy again is selection ; and schism is division ; and if we select what is true and divide and separate ourselves from what is false, we do well, and heresy and schism become virtues in us. Let the reader, however, take the arguments as he finds them in Milton, who discusses the subject in a masterly manner, and cannot fail to work conviction in the unprejudiced mind.

TO THE PARLIAMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, WITH THE DOMINIONS THEREOF.

I HAVE prepared, supreme council ! against the much-expected time of your sitting, this treatise ; which, though to all Christian magistrates equally belonging, and therefore

to have been written in the common language of Christendom, natural duty and affection hath confined, and dedicated first to my own nation; and in a season wherein the timely reading thereof, to the easier accomplishment of your great work, may save you much labour and interruption: of two parts usually proposed, civil and ecclesiastical, recommending civil only to your proper care; ecclesiastical, to them only from whom it takes both that name and nature. Yet not for this cause only do I require or trust to find acceptance, but in a twofold respect besides: first, as bringing clear evidence of scripture and protestant maxims to the parliament of England, who in all their late acts, upon occasion, have professed to assert only the true protestant Christian religion, as it is contained in the holy scriptures: next, in regard that your power being but for a time, and having in yourselves a Christian liberty of your own, which at one time or other may be oppressed, thereof truly sensible, it will concern you while you are in power, so to regard other men's consciences, as you would your own should be regarded in the power of others; and to consider that any law against conscience is alike in force against any conscience, and so may one way or other justly redound upon yourselves. One advantage I make no doubt of, that I shall write to many eminent persons of your number, already perfect and resolved in this important article of Christianity. Some of whom I remember to have heard often for several years, at a council next in authority to your own, so well joining religion with civil prudence, and yet so well distinguishing the different power of either; and this not only voting, but frequently reasoning why it should be so, that if any there present had been before of an opinion contrary, he might doubtless have departed thence a convert in that point, and have confessed, that then both commonwealth and religion will at length, if ever, flourish in Christendom, when either they who govern discern between civil and religious, or they only who so discern shall be admitted to govern. Till then, nothing but troubles, persecutions, commotions can be expected; the inward decay of true religion among ourselves, and the utter overthrow at last by a common enemy. Of civil liberty I have written heretofore by the appointment, and not without the approbation of civil

power: of Christian liberty I write now, which others long since having done with all freedom under heathen emperors, I should do wrong to suspect, that I now shall with less under Christian governors, and such especially as profess openly their defence of Christian liberty; although I write this, not otherwise appointed or induced, than by an inward persuasion of the Christian duty, which I may usefully discharge herein to the common Lord and Master of us all, and the certain hope of his approbation, first and chiefest to be sought: in the hand of whose providence I remain, praying all success and good event on your public councils, to the defence of true religion and our civil rights.

JOHN MILTON.

A TREATISE OF CIVIL POWER, &c.

Two things there be, which have been ever found working much mischief to the church of God and the advancement of truth: force on one side restraining, and hire on the other side corrupting, the teachers thereof. Few ages have been since the ascension of our Saviour, wherein the one of these two, or both together, have not prevailed. It can be at no time, therefore, unseasonable to speak of these things; since by them the church is either in continual detriment and oppression, or in continual danger. The former shall be at this time my argument; the latter as I shall find God disposing me, and opportunity inviting. What I argue shall be drawn from the scripture only; and therein from true fundamental principles of the gospel, to all knowing Christians undeniable. And if the governors of this commonwealth, since the rooting out of prelates, have made least use of force in religion, and most have favoured Christian liberty of any in this island before them since the first preaching of the gospel, for which we are not to forget our thanks to God, and their due praise; they may, I doubt not, in this treatise, find that which not only will confirm them to defend still the Christian liberty which we enjoy, but will incite them also to enlarge it, if in aught they yet straiten it. To them who perhaps hereafter, less experienced in religion, may come to govern or give us laws, this or other such, if they please, may be a timely instruction: however, to the truth it will be at all times no un-

needful testimony, at least some discharge of that general duty, which no Christian, but according to what he hath received, knows is required of him, if he have aught more conducing to the advancement of religion, than what is usually endeavoured, freely to impart it.

It will require no great labour of exposition to unfold what is here meant by matters of religion; being as soon apprehended as defined, such things as belong chiefly to the knowledge and service of God; and are either above the reach and light of nature without revelation from above, and therefore liable to be variously understood by human reason, or such things as are enjoined or forbidden by divine precept, which else by the light of reason would seem indifferent to be done or not done; and so likewise must needs appear to every man as the precept is understood. Whence I here mean by conscience or religion that full persuasion, whereby we are assured, that our belief and practice, as far as we are able to apprehend and probably make appear, is according to the will of God and his Holy Spirit within us, which we ought to follow much rather than any law of man, as not only his word everywhere bids us, but the very dictate of reason tells us: Acts iv. 19, "Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken to you more than to God, judge ye." That for belief or practice in religion, according to this conscientious persuasion, no man ought to be punished or molested by any outward force on earth whatsoever, I distrust not, through God's implored assistance, to make plain by these following arguments.

First, it cannot be denied, being the main foundation of our protestant religion, that we of these ages, having no other divine rule or authority from without us, warrantable to one another as a common ground, but the holy scripture, and no other within us but the illumination of the Holy Spirit, so interpreting that scripture as warrantable only to ourselves, and to such whose consciences we can so persuade, can have no other ground in matters of religion but only from the scriptures. And these being not possible to be understood without this divine illumination, which no man can know at all times to be in himself, much less to be at any time for certain in any other, it follows clearly, that no man or body of men in these times can be the infallible judges or determiners in matters of religion to any other men's consciences but their own. And

therefore those Bereans are commended, Acts xvii. 11, who after the preaching even of St. Paul, "searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so." Nor did they more than what God himself in many places commands us by the same apostle, to search, to try, to judge of these things ourselves: and gives us reason also, Gal. vi. 4, 5: "Let every man prove his own work, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another: for every man shall bear his own burden." If then we count it so ignorant and irreligious in the papist, to think himself discharged in God's account, believing only as the church believes, how much greater condemnation will it be to the protestant his condemner, to think himself justified, believing only as the state believes? With good cause, therefore, it is the general consent of all sound protestant writers, that neither traditions, councils, nor canons of any visible church, much less edicts of any magistrate or civil session, but the scripture only, can be the final judge or rule in matters of religion, and that only in the conscience of every Christian to himself. Which protestation made by the first public reformers of our religion against the imperial edicts of Charles the Fifth, imposing church traditions without scripture, gave first beginning to the name of Protestant; and with that name hath ever been received this doctrine, which prefers the scripture before the church, and acknowledges none but the scripture sole interpreter of itself to the conscience. For if the church be not sufficient to be implicitly believed, as we hold it is not, what can there else be named of more authority than the church but the conscience, than which God only is greater? 1 John iii. 20. But if any man shall pretend that the scripture judges to his conscience for other men, he makes himself greater not only than the church, but also than the scripture, than the consciences of other men: a presumption too high for any mortal, since every true Christian, able to give a reason of his faith, hath the word of God before him, the promised Holy Spirit, and the mind of Christ within him, 1 Cor. ii. 16; a much better and safer guide of conscience, which as far as concerns himself he may far more certainly know, than any outward rule imposed upon him by others, whom he inwardly neither knows nor can know; at least knows nothing of them more sure than this one thing, that they cannot be his judges in religion:

1 Cor. ii. 15: "The spiritual man judgeth all things, but he himself is judged of no man." Chiefly for this cause do all true protestants account the pope antichrist, for that he assumes to himself this infallibility over both the conscience and the scripture; "sitting in the temple of God," as it were opposite to God, "and exalting himself above all that is called God, or is worshipped," 2 Thes. ii. 4. That is to say, not only above all judges and magistrates, who though they be called gods, are far beneath infallible; but also above God himself, by giving law both to the scripture, to the conscience, and to the Spirit itself of God within us. Whenas we find, James iv. 12, "There is one lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy: Who art thou that judgest another?" That Christ is the only lawgiver of his church, and that it is here meant in religious matters, no well-grounded Christian will deny. Thus also St. Paul, Rom. xiv. 4, "Who art thou that judgest the servant of another? to his own lord he standeth or falleth: but he shall stand; for God is able to make him stand." As therefore of one beyond expression bold and presumptuous, both these apostles demand, "Who art thou," that presumest to impose other law or judgment in religion than the only lawgiver and judge Christ, who only can save and destroy, gives to the conscience? And the forecited place to the Thessalonians, by compared effects, resolves us, that be he or they who or wherever they be or can be, they are of far less authority than the church, whom in these things as protestants they receive not, and yet no less antichrist in this main point of antichristianism, no less a pope or popedom than he at Rome, if not much more, by setting up supreme interpreters of scripture either those doctors whom they follow, or, which is far worse, themselves as a civil papacy assuming unaccountable supremacy to themselves, not in civil only, but in ecclesiastical causes. Seeing then that in matters of religion, as hath been proved, none can judge or determine here on earth, no, not church governors themselves, against the consciences of other believers, my inference is, or rather not mine but our Saviour's own, that in those matters they neither can command nor use constraint, lest they run rashly on a pernicious consequence, forewarned in that parable, Matt. xiii. from ver. 29 to 31: "Lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together

until the harvest: and in the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather ye together first the tares," &c. Whereby he declares, that this work neither his own ministers nor any else can discerningly enough or judgingly perform without his own immediate direction, in his own fit season; and that they ought till then not to attempt it. Which is further confirmed, 2 Cor. i. 24, " Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy." If apostles had no dominion or constraining power over faith or conscience, much less have ordinary ministers: 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, " Feed the flock of God, &c., not by constraint, neither as being lords over God's heritage." But some will object, that this overthrows all church discipline, all censure of errors, if no man can determine. My answer is, that what they hear is plain scripture, which forbids not church sentence or determining, but as it ends in violence upon the conscience unconvinced. Let whoso will interpret or determine, so it be according to true church discipline, which is exercised on them only who have willingly joined themselves in that covenant of union, and proceeds only to a separation from the rest, proceeds never to any corporal enforcement or forfeiture of money, which in all spiritual things are the two arms of Antichrist, not of the true church; the one being an inquisition, the other no better than a temporal indulgence of sin for money, whether by the church exacted or by the magistrate; both the one and the other a temporal satisfaction for what Christ hath satisfied eternally; a popish commuting of penalty, corporal for spiritual; a satisfaction to man, especially to the magistrate, for what and to whom we owe none: these and more are the injustices of force and fining in religion, besides what I most insist on, the violation of God's express commandment in the gospel, as hath been shewn. Thus then, if church governors cannot use force in religion, though but for this reason, because they cannot infallibly determine to the conscience without convincement, much less have civil magistrates authority to use force where they can much less judge; unless they mean only to be the civil executioners of them who have no civil power to give them such commission, no, nor yet ecclesiastical, to any force or violence in religion. To sum up all in brief, if we must believe as the magistrate appoints, why not rather as the church? If not as either without convincement, how can force be lawful? But

some are ready to cry out, what shall then be done to blasphemy ? Them I would first exhort, not thus to terrify and pose the people with a Greek word ; but to teach them better what it is, being a most usual and common word in that language to signify any slander, any malicious or evil speaking, whether against God or man, or anything to good belonging : blasphemy or evil speaking against God maliciously, is far from conscience in religion, according to that of Mark ix. 39, “ There is none who doth a powerful work in my name, and can lightly speak evil of me.” If this suffice not, I refer them to that prudent and well deliberated act, August 9, 1650, where the parliament defines blasphemy against God, as far as it is a crime belonging to civil judicature, “ plenius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore ;” in plain English, more warily, more judiciously, more orthodoxally than twice their number of divines have done in many a prolix volume : although in all likelihood they whose whole study and profession these things are, should be most intelligent and authentic therein, as they are for the most part ; yet neither they nor these unerring always, or infallible. But we shall not carry it thus ; another Greek apparition stands in our way, Heresy and Heretic ; in like manner also railed at to the people as in a tongue unknown. They should first interpret to them that heresy, by what it signifies in that language, is no word of evil note, meaning only the choice or following of any opinion, good or bad, in religion, or any other learning ; and thus not only in heathen authors, but in the New Testament itself, without censure or blame ; Acts xv. 5, “ Certain of the heresy of the pharisees which believed ;” and xxvi. 5, “ After the exactest heresy of our religion I lived a Pharisee.” In which sense presbyterian or independent may without reproach be called a heresy. Where it is mentioned with blame, it seems to differ little from schism : 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19, “ I hear that there be schisms among you,” &c. “ for there must also heresies be among you,” &c. Though some, who write of heresy after their own heads, would make it far worse than schism ; wheras on the contrary, schism signifies division, and in the worst sense ; heresy, choice only of one opinion before another, which may be without discord. In apostolic times, therefore, 'ere the scripture was written, heresy was a doctrine maintained against the doctrine by them delivered ; which in these

times can be no otherwise defined than a doctrine maintained against the light which we now only have of the scripture. Seeing, therefore, that no man, no synod, no session of men, though called the church, can judge definitely the sense of scripture to another man's conscience, which is well known to be a general maxim of the protestant religion ; it follows plainly, that he who holds in religion that belief, or those opinions, which to his conscience and utmost understanding appear with most evidence or probability in the scripture, though to others he seem erroneous, can no more be justly censured for a heretic than his censurers ; who do but the same thing themselves, while they censure him for so doing. For ask them, or any protestant, which hath most authority, the church or the scripture ? They will answer, doubtless, that the scripture : and what hath most authority, that no doubt but they will confess is to be followed. He then, who to his best apprehension follows the scripture, though against any point of doctrine by the whole church received, is not the heretic ; but he who follows the church against his conscience and persuasion grounded on the scripture. To make this yet more undeniable, I shall only borrow a plain simile, the same which our own writers, when they would demonstrate plainest, that we rightly prefer the scripture before the church, use frequently against the papist in this manner. As the Samaritans believed Christ, first for the woman's word, but next and much rather for his own, so we the scripture : first on the church's word, but afterwards and much more for its own, as the word of God ; yea, the church itself we believe then for the scripture. The inference of itself follows : If by the protestant doctrine we believe the scripture, not for the church's saying, but for its own, as the word of God, then ought we to believe what in our conscience we apprehend the scripture to say, though the visible church, with all her doctors, gainsay : and being taught to believe them only for the scripture, they who so do are not heretics, but the best protestants : and by their opinions, whatever they be, can hurt no protestant, whose rule is not to receive them but from the scripture : which to interpret convincingly to his own conscience, none is able but himself guided by the Holy Spirit ; and not so guided, none than he to himself can be a worse deceiver. To protestants, therefore, whose common rule and touchstone is the

scripture, nothing can with more conscience, more equity, nothing more protestantly can be permitted, than a free and lawful debate at all times by writing, conference, or disputation of what opinion soever, disputable by scripture: concluding that no man in religion is properly a heretic at this day, but he who maintains traditions or opinions not probable by scripture, who, forsooth I know, is the papist only; he the only heretic, who counts all heretics but himself. Such as these, indeed, were capitally punished by the law of Moses, as the only true heretics, idolaters, plain and open deserters of God and his known law: but in the gospel such are punished by excommunication only: Tit. iii. 10, "An heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject." But they who think not this heavy enough, and understand not that dreadful awe and spiritual efficacy which the apostle hath expressed so highly to be in church discipline, 2 Cor. x., of which anon, and think weakly that the church of God cannot long subsist but in a bodily fear, for want of other proof will needs wrest that place of St. Paul, Rom. xiii., to set up civil inquisition, and give power to the magistrate both of civil judgment and punishment in causes ecclesiastical. But let us see with what strength of argument: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." First, how prove they that the apostle means other powers than such as they to whom he writes were then under; who meddled not at all in ecclesiastical causes, unless as tyrants and persecutors? And from them, I hope, they will not derive either the right of magistrates to judge in spiritual things, or the duty of such our obedience. How prove they next, that he entitles them here to spiritual causes, from whom he withheld, as much as in him lay, the judging of civil? 1 Cor. vi. 1, &c. If he himself appealed to Cæsar, it was to judge his innocence, not his religion. "For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil:" then are they not a terror to conscience, which is the rule or judge of good works grounded on the scripture. But heresy, they say, is reckoned among evil works, Gal. v. 20, as if all evil works were to be punished by the magistrate; whereof this place, their own citation, reckons up besides heresy a sufficient number to confute them; "uncleanliness, wantonness, enmity, strife, emulations, animosities, contentions, envyings;" all which are far more manifest to be judged by him

than heresy, as they define it ; and yet I suppose they will not subject these evil works, nor many more suchlike, to his cognizance and punishment. " Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power ? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same." This shews that religious matters are not here meant ; wherein from the power here spoken of, they could have no praise. " For he is the minister of God to thee for good :" true ; but in that office, and to that end, and by those means, which in this place must be clearly found, if from this place they intend to argue. And how, for thy good by forcing, oppressing, and ensnaring thy conscience ? Many are the ministers of God, and their offices no less different than many ; none more different than state and church government. Who seeks to govern both, must needs be worse than any lord prelate, or church pluralist : for he in his own faculty and profession, the other not in his own, and for the most part not thoroughly understood, makes himself supreme lord or pope of the church, as far as his civil jurisdiction stretches ; and all the ministers of God therein, his ministers, or his curates rather in the function only, not in the government ; while he himself assumes to rule by civil power things to be ruled only by spiritual : wheras this very chapter, verse 6, appointing him his peculiar office, which requires utmost attendance, forbids him this worse than church plurality from that full and weighty charge, wherein alone he is " the minister of God, attending continually on this very thing." To little purpose will they here instance Moses, who did all by immediate divine direction ; no, nor yet Asa, Jehoshaphat, or Josiah, who both might, when they pleased, receive answer from God, and had a commonwealth by him delivered them, incorporated with a national church, exercised more in bodily than in spiritual worship : so as that the church might be called a commonwealth, and the whole commonwealth a church : nothing of which can be said of Christianity, delivered without the help of magistrates, yea, in the midst of their opposition ; how little then with any reference to them, or mention of them, save only of our obedience to their civil laws, as they countenance good, and deter evil ? which is the proper work of the magistrate, following in the same verse, and shews distinctly wherein he is the minister of God, " a revenger to execute wrath on him that doth evil." But we

must first know who it is that doth evil : the heretic they say among the first. Let it be known then certainly who is a heretic ; and that he who holds opinions in religion professedly from tradition, or his own inventions, and not from scripture, but rather against it, is the only heretic : and yet though such, not always punishable by the magistrate, unless he do evil against a civil law, properly so called, hath been already proved, without need of repetition : “ But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid.” To do by scripture and the gospel, according to conscience, is not to do evil ; if we thereof ought not to be afraid, he ought not by his judging to give cause : causes therefore of religion are not here meant : “ For he beareth not the sword in vain.” Yes, altogether in vain, if it smite he knows not what ; if that for heresy, which not the church itself, much less he, can determine absolutely to be so ; if truth for error, being himself so often fallible, he bears the sword not in vain only, but unjustly and to evil. “ Be subject not only for wrath, but for conscience sake :” How for conscience sake, against conscience ? By all these reasons it appears plainly, that the apostle in this place gives no judgment or coercive power to magistrates, neither to those then, nor these now, in matters of religion ; and exhorts us no otherwise than he exhorted those Romans. It hath now twice befallen me to assert, through God’s assistance, this most wrested and vexed place of scripture : heretofore against Salmasius, and regal tyranny over the state ; now against Erasmus, and state tyranny over the church. If from such uncertain, or rather such improbable grounds as these, they endue magistracy with spiritual judgment, they may as well invest him in the same spiritual kind with power of utmost punishment, excommunication ; and then turn spiritual into corporal, as no worse authors did than Chrysostom, Jerome, and Austin, whom Erasmus and others in their notes on the New Testament have cited, to interpret that cutting off which St. Paul wished to them who had brought back the Galatians to circumcision, no less than the amercement of their whole virility : and Grotius adds, that this concising punishment of circumcisers became a penal law thereupon among the Visigoths : a dangerous example of beginning in the spirit to end so in the flesh ; whereas that cutting off much likelier seems meant a cutting off from the church, not unusually so termed

in scripture, and a zealous imprecation, not a command. But I have mentioned this passage to shew how absurd they often prove who have not learned to distinguish rightly between civil power and ecclesiastical. How many persecutions, then imprisonments, banishments, penalties, and stripes ; how much bloodshed have the forceurs of conscience to answer for, and protestants rather than papists ! For the papist, judging by his principles, punishes them who believe not as the church believes, though against the scripture; but the protestant, teaching every one to believe the scripture, though against the church, counts heretical, and persecutes against his own principles, them who in any particular so believe as he in general teaches them ; them who most honour and believe divine scripture, but not against it any human interpretation though universal ; them who interpret scripture only to themselves, which by his own position, none but they to themselves can interpret : them who use the scripture no otherwise by his own doctrine to their edification, than he himself uses it to their punishing ; and so whom his doctrine acknowledges a true believer, his discipline persecutes as a heretic. The papist exacts our belief as to the church due above scripture ; and by the church, which is the whole people of God, understands the pope, the general councils, prelatical only, and the surnamed fathers : but the forcing protestant, though he deny such belief to any church whatsoever, yet takes it to himself and his teachers, of far less authority than to be called the church, and above scripture believed : which renders his practice both contrary to his belief, and far worse than that belief, which he condemns in the papist. By all which, well considered, the more he professes to be a true protestant, the more he hath to answer for his persecuting than a papist. No protestant therefore, of what sect soever, following scripture only, which is the common sect wherein they all agree, and the granted rule of every man's conscience to himself, ought by the common doctrine of protestants to be forced or molested for religion. But as for popery and idolatry, why they also may not hence plead to be tolerated, I have much less to say. Their religion the more considered, the less can be acknowledged a religion ; but a Roman principality rather, endeavouring to keep up her old universal dominion under a new name, and mere shadow of a catholic religion ; being indeed

more rightly named a catholic heresy against the scripture, supported mainly by a civil, and, except in Rome, by a foreign, power: justly therefore to be suspected, not tolerated, by the magistrate of another country. Besides, of an implicit faith which they profess, the conscience also becomes implicit, and so by voluntary servitude to man's law, forfeits her Christian liberty. Who then can plead for such a conscience, as being implicitly enthralled to man instead of God, almost becomes no conscience, as the will not free, becomes no will? Nevertheless, if they ought not to be tolerated, it is for just reason of state, more than of religion; which they who force, though professing to be protestants, deserve as little to be tolerated themselves, being no less guilty of popery in the most popish point. Lastly, for idolatry, who knows it not to be evidently against all scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, and therefore a true heresy, or rather an impiety, wherein a right conscience can have nought to do; and the works thereof so manifest, that a magistrate can hardly err in prohibiting and quite removing at least the public and scandalous use thereof?

From the riddance of these objections, I proceed yet to another reason why it is unlawful for the civil magistrate to use force in matters of religion; which is, because to judge in those things, though we should grant him able, which is proved he is not, yet as a civil magistrate he hath no right. Christ hath a government of his own, sufficient of itself to all his ends and purposes in governing his church, but much different from that of the civil magistrate; and the difference in this very thing principally consists, that it governs not by outward force; and that for two reasons: First, Because it deals only with the inward man and his actiens, which are all spiritual, and to outward force not liable. Secondly. To shew us the divine excellency of his spiritual kingdom, able, without worldly force, to subdue all the powers and kingdoms of this world, which are upheld by outward force only. That the inward man is nothing else but the inward part of man, his understanding and his will; and that his actions thence proceeding, yet not simply thence, but from the work of divine grace upon them, are the whole matter of religion under the gospel, will appear plainly by considering what that religion

is ; whence we shall perceive yet more plainly that it cannot be forced. What evangelic religion is, is told in two words, —faith and charity, or belief and practice. That both these flow, either, the one from the understanding, the other from the will, or both jointly from both, once indeed naturally free, but now only as they are regenerate and wrought on by divine grace, is in part evident to common sense and principles unquestioned, the rest by scripture : concerning our belief, Matt. xvi. 17, "Flesh and bloo^d hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven ;" concerning our practice, as it is religious, and not merely civil, Gal. v. 22, 23, and other places, declare it to be the fruit of the spirit only. Nay, our whole practical duty in religion is contained in charity, or the love of God and our neighbour, no way to be forced, yet the fulfilling of the whole law ; that is to say, our whole practice in religion. If then both our belief and practice, which comprehend our whole religion, flow from faculties of the inward man, free and unconstrainable of themselves by nature, and our practice not only from faculties endued with freedom, but from love and charity besides, incapable of force, and all these things by transgression lost, but renewed and regenerated in us by the power and gift of God alone ; how can such religion as this admit of force from man, or force be any way applied to such religion, especially under the free offer of grace in the gospel, but it must forthwith frustrate and make of no effect both the religion and the gospel ? And that to compel outward profession, which they will say perhaps ought to be compelled, though inward religion cannot, is to compel hypocrisy, not to advance religion, shall yet, though of itself clear enough, be ere the conclusion, further manifest. The other reason why Christ rejects outward force in the government of his church, is, as I said before, to shew us the divine excellence of his spiritual kingdom, able without worldly force to subdue all the powers and kingdoms of this world, which are upheld by outward force only : by which to uphold religion otherwise than to defend the religious from outward violence, is no service to Christ or his kingdom, but rather a disparagement, and degrades it from a divine and spiritual kingdom, to a kingdom of this world : which he denies it to be, because it needs not force to confirm it : John xviii. 36 : "If,

my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews." This proves the kingdom of Christ not governed by outward force, as being none of this world, whose kingdoms are maintained all by force only; and yet disproves not that a Christian commonwealth may defend itself against outward force, in the cause of religion as well as in any other: though Christ himself coming purposely to die for us, would not be so defended. 1 Cor. i. 27: "God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty." Then surely he hath not chosen the force of this world to subdue conscience, and conscientious men, who in this world are counted weakest; but rather conscience, as being weakest, to subdue and regulate force, his adversary, not his aid or instrument in governing the church: 2 Cor. x. 8, 4, 5, 6: "For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh: for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalts itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ: and having in a readiness to avenge all disobedience." It is evident by the first and second verses of this chapter, and the apostle here speaks of that spiritual power by which Christ governs his church, how all-sufficient it is, how powerful to reach the conscience, and the inward man with whom it chiefly deals, and whom no power else can deal with. In comparison of which, as it is here thus magnificently described, how ineffectual and weak is outward force with all her boisterous tools, to the shame of those Christians, and especially those churchmen, who to the exercising of church-discipline, never cease calling on the civil magistrate to interpose his fleshly force? An argument that all true ministerial and spiritual power is dead within them; who think the gospel, which both began and spread over the whole world for above three hundred years, under heathen and persecuting emperors, cannot stand or continue, supported by the same divine presence and protection, to the world's end, much easier under the defensive favour only of a Christian magistrate, unless it be enacted and settled, as they call it, by the state, a statute or a state religion; and understand not

that the church itself cannot, much less the state, settle or impose one title of religion upon our obedience implicit, but can only recommend or propound it to our free and conscientious examination: unless they mean to set the state higher than the church in religion, and with a gross contradiction give to the state in their settling petition that command of our implicit belief which they deny in their settled confession both to the state and to the church. Let them cease then to importune and interrupt the magistrate from attending to his own charge in civil and moral things, the settling of things just, things honest, the defence of things religious, settled by the churches within themselves; and the repressing of their contraries, determinable by the common light of nature; which is not to constrain or to repress religion probable by scripture, but the violaters and persecutors thereof: of all which things he hath enough and more than enough to do, left yet undone; for which the land groans, and justice goes to wrack the while. Let him also forbear force where he hath no right to judge, for the conscience is not his province, lest a worst woe arrive him, for worse offending, than was denounced by our Saviour, Matt. xxiii. 23, against the pharisees: Ye have forced the conscience, which was not to be forced; but judgment and mercy ye have not executed; this ye should have done, and the other let alone. And since it is the counsel and set purpose of God in the gospel, by spiritual means which are counted weak, to overcome all power which resists him; let them not go about to do that by worldly strength, which he hath decreed to do by those means which the world counts weakness, lest they be again obnoxious to that saying, which in another place is also written of the pharisees, Luke vii. 30, that "they frustrated the counsel of God." The main plea is, and urged with much vehemence to their imitation, that the kings of Judah, as I touched before, and especially Josiah, both judged and used force in religion: 2 Chron. xxxiv. 33, "He made all that were present in Israel to serve the Lord their God :" an argument, if it be well weighed, worse than that used by the false prophet Shemaia to the high-priest, that in imitation of Jehoiada, he ought to put Jeremiah in the stocks, Jer. xxix. 24, 26, &c.; for which he received his due denunciation from God. But to this be-

sides I return a threefold answer: First, That the state of religion under the gospel is far differing from what it was under the law. Then was the state of rigour, childhood, bondage, and works, to all which force was not unbefitting; now is the state of grace, manhood, freedom, and faith, to all which belongs willingness and reason, not force: the law was then written on tables of stone, and to be performed according to the letter, willingly or unwillingly; the gospel, our new covenant, upon the heart of every believer, to be interpreted only by the sense of charity and inward persuasion: the law had no distinct government or governors of church and commonwealth, but the priests and Levites judged in all causes, not ecclesiastical only, but civil, Deut. xvii. 8, &c.; which under the gospel is forbidden to all church ministers, as a thing which Christ their Master in his ministry disclaimed, Luke xii. 14, as a thing beneath them, 1 Cor. vi. 4, and by many other statutes, as to them who have a peculiar and far-differing government of their own. If not, why different the governors? Why not church ministers in state affairs, as well as state ministers in church affairs? If church and state shall be made one flesh again, as under the law, let it be withal considered, that God, who then joined them, hath now severed them; that which, he so ordaining, was then a lawful conjunction, to such on either side as join again what he hath severed would be nothing now but their own presumptuous fornication. Secondly, the kings of Judah, and those magistrates under the law, might have recourse, as I said before, to divine inspiration; which our magistrates under the gospel have not, more than to the same spirit, which those whom they force have oftentimes in greater measure than themselves: and so, instead of forcing the Christian, they force the Holy Ghost; and, against that wise forewarning of Gamaliel, fight against God. Thirdly those kings and magistrates used force in such things only as were undoubtedly known and forbidden in the law of Moses, idolatry and direct apostacy from that national and strict enjoined worship of God; whereof the corporal punishment was by himself expressly set down; but magistrates under the gospel, our free, elective, and rational worship, are most commonly busiest to force those things which in the gospel are either left free, nay, sometimes abolished when by them com-

peled, or else controverted equally by writers on both sides, and sometimes with odds on that side which is against them. By which means they either punish that which they ought to favour and protect, or that with corporal punishment, and of their own inventing, which not they, but the church, had received command to chastise with a spiritual rod only. Yet some are so eager in their zeal of forcing, that they refuse not to descend at length to the utmost shift of that parabolical proof, Luke xiv. 16, &c., "Compel them to come in :" therefore magistrates may compel in religion. As if a parable were to be strained through every word or phrase, and not expounded by the general scope thereof ; which is no other here than the earnest expression of God's displeasure on those recusant Jews, and his purpose to prefer the Gentiles on any terms before them : expressed here by the word compel. But how compels he ? Doubtless no other way than he draws, without which no man can come to him, John vi. 44 ; and that is by the inward persuasive motions of his Spirit, and by his ministers ; not by the outward compulsions of a magistrate or his officers. The true people of Christ, as is foretold, Psalm cx. 8, "are a willing people in the day of his power ;" then much more now when he rules all things by outward weakness, that both his inward power and their sincerity may the more appear. "God loveth a cheerful giver :" then certainly is not pleased with an uncheerful worshipper : as the very words declare of his evangelical invitations, Isa. lv. 1, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come." John vii. 37, "If any man thirsteth." Rev. iii. 18, "I counsel thee." And xxii. 17, "Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely." And in that grand commission of preaching, to invite all nations, Mark xvi. 16, as the reward of them who come, so the penalty of them who come not, is only spiritual. But they bring now some reason with their force, which must not pass unanswered, that the church of Thyatira was blamed, Rev. ii. 20, for suffering the false "prophetess to teach and to seduce." I answer, That seducement is to be hindered by fit and proper means ordained in church discipline, by instant and powerful demonstration to the contrary ; by opposing truth to error, no unequal match ; truth the strong, to error the weak, though sly and shifting. Force is no honest confutation, but ineffectual, and for the most part unsuccessful, oftentimes fatal to them

who use it: sound doctrine, diligently and duly taught, is of herself both sufficient, and of herself (if some secret judgment of God hinder not) always prevalent against seducers. This the Thyatirians had neglected, suffering against church discipline, that woman to teach and seduce among them: civil force they had not then in their power, being the Christian part only of that city, and then especially under one of those ten great persecutions, whereof this the second was raised by Domitian: force therefore in these matters could not be required of them who were under force themselves.

I have shewn, that the civil power hath neither right, nor can do right, by forcing religious things; I will now show the wrong it doth, by violating the fundamental privilege of the gospel, the new birthright of every true believer, Christian liberty: 2 Cor. iii. 17, "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." Gal. iv. 26, "Jerusalem which is above is free; which is the mother of us all." And ver. 31, "We are not children of the bondwoman, but of the free." It will be sufficient in this place to say no more of Christian liberty, than that it sets us free not only from the bondage of those ceremonies, but also from the forcible imposition of those circumstances, place and time, in the worship of God: which though by him commanded in the old law, yet in respect of that verity and freedom which is evangelical, St. Paul comprehends both kinds alike, that is to say, both ceremony and circumstance, under one and the same contemptuous name of "weak and beggarly rudiments," Gal. iv. 3, 9, 10; Col. ii. 8 with 16; conformable to what our Saviour himself taught, John iv. 21, 23, "Neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem. In spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him:" that is to say, not only sincere of heart, for such he sought ever; but also, as the words here chiefly import, not compelled to place, and by the same reason, not to any set time; as his apostle by the same spirit hath taught us, Rom. xiv. 6, &c. "One man esteemeth one day above another," &c.; Gal. iv. 10, "Ye observe days and months," &c.; Col. ii. 16. These and other such places in scripture the best and learnedest reformed writers have thought evident enough to instruct us in our freedom, not only from ceremonies, but from those circumstances also, though imposed with a confident persuasion of morality in them, which they

hold impossible to be in place or time. By what warrant then our opinions and practices herein are of late turned quite against all other protestants, and that which is to them orthodoxal, to us becomes scandalous and punishable by statute, I wish were once again considered; if we mean not to proclaim a schism in this point from the best and most reformed churches abroad. They who would seem more knowing, confess that these things are indifferent, but for that very cause by the magistrate may be commanded. As if God of his special grace in the gospel had to this end freed us from his own commandments in these things, that our freedom should subject us to a more grievous yoke, the commandments of men. As well may the magistrate call that common or unclean which God hath cleansed, forbidden to St. Peter, Acts x. 15; as well may he loosen that which God hath straitened or straiten that which God hath loosened, as he may enjoy those things in religion which God hath left free, and lay on that yoke which God hath taken off. For he hath not only given us this gift as a special privilege and excellence of the free gospel above the servile law, but strictly also hath commanded us to keep it and enjoy it: Gal. v. 13, "You are called to liberty." 1 Cor. vii. 23, "Be not made the servants of men." Gal. v. 14, "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free; and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." Neither is this a mere command, but for the most part in these forecited places, accompanied with the very weightiest and inmost reasons of Christian religion: Rom. xiv. 9, 10, "For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living. But why dost thou judge thy brother?" &c. How presumest thou to be his lord, to be whose only Lord, at least in these things, Christ both died, and rose, and lived again? "We shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ." Why then dost thou not only judge, but persecute in these things for which we are to be accountable to the tribunal of Christ only, our Lord and lawgiver? 1 Cor. vii. 23, "Ye are bought with a price: be not made the servants of men." Some trivial price belike, and for some frivolous pretences paid in their opinion, if bought and by him redeemed, who is God, from what was once the service of God, we shall be enthralled again, and forced by men to what now is but the

service of men : Gal. iv. 31, with v. 1, " We are not children of the bondwoman, &c.; stand fast therefore," &c. Col. ii. 8 " Beware lest any man spoil you, &c., after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." Solid reasons whereof are continued through the whole chapter. Ver. 10, " Ye are complete in him, which is the head of all principality and power :" not completed therefore or made the more religious by those ordinances of civil power from which Christ their head hath discharged us ; " blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us ; and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross," ver. 14. Blotting out ordinances written by God himself, much more those so boldly written over again by men ; ordinances which were against us, that is, against our frailty, much more those which are against our conscience. " Let no man therefore judge you in respect of," &c., ver. 16; Gal. iv. 3, &c. " Even so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the rudiments of the world : but when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, &c., to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons, &c. Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son, &c. But now, &c. how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly rudiments, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage ? Ye observe days," &c. Hence it plainly appears, that if we be not free, we are not sons, but still servants unadopted ; and if we turn again to those weak and beggarly rudiments, we are not free ; yea, though willingly, and with a misguided conscience, we desire to be in bondage to them ; how much more then if unwillingly and against our conscience ? Ill was our condition changed from legal to evangelical, and small advantage gotten by the gospel, if for the spirit of adoption to freedom promised us, we receive again the spirit of bondage to fear ; if our fear, which was then servile towards God only, must be now servile in religion towards men : strange also and preposterous fear, if when and wherein it hath attained by the redemption of our Saviour to be filial only towards God, it must be now servile towards the magistrate : who, by subjecting us to his punishment in these things, brings back into religion that law of terror and satisfaction belonging now only to civil crimes ; and thereby in effect abolishes the gospel, by establishing again the law to a far worse yoke of servitude upon us than before. It

will therefore not misbecome the meanest Christian to put in mind Christian magistrates, and so much the more freely by how much the more they desire to be thought Christian, (for they will be thereby, as they ought to be in these things, the more our brethren and the less our lords,) that they meddle not rashly with Christian liberty, the birthright and outward testimony of our adoption ; lest while they little think it, nay, think they do God service, they themselves, like the sons of that bondwoman, be found persecuting them who are freeborn of the Spirit, and by a sacrilege of not the least aggravation, bereaving them of that sacred liberty, which our Saviour with his own blood purchased for them.

A fourth reason why the magistrate ought not to use force in religion, I bring from the consideration of all those ends which he can likely pretend to the interposing of his force therein ; and those hardly can be other than first the glory of God ; next, either the spiritual good of them whom he forces, or the temporal punishment of their scandal to others. As for the promoting of God's glory, none, I think, will say that his glory ought to be promoted in religious things by unwarrantable means, much less by means contrary to what he hath commanded. That outward force is such, and that God's glory in the whole administration of the gospel according to his own will and counsel ought to be fulfilled by weakness, at least so refuted, not by force ; or if by force, inward and spiritual, not outward and corporeal, is already proved at large. That outward force cannot tend to the good of him, who is forced in religion, is unquestionable. For in religion whatever we do under the gospel, we ought to be thereof persuaded without scruple; and are justified by the faith we have, not by the work we do : Rom. xiv. 5, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." The other reason which follows necessarily is obvious, Gal. ii. 16, and in many other places of St. Paul, as the groundwork and foundation of the whole gospel, that we are "justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law." If not by the works of God's law, how then by the injunctions of man's law ? Surely force cannot work persuasion, which is faith ; cannot therefore justify nor pacify the conscience, and that which justifies not in the gospel, condemns ; is not only not good, but sinful to do : Rom. xiv. 23, "What-

“**whoever is not of faith, is sin,**” It concerns the magistrate, then, to take heed how he forces in religion conscientious men, lest by compelling them to do that whereof they cannot be persuaded, that wherein they cannot find themselves justified, but by their own consciences condemned, instead of aiming at their spiritual good, he force them to do evil; and while he thinks himself Asa, Josiah, Nehemiah, he be found Jero-boam, who caused Israel to sin; and thereby draw upon his own head all those sins and shipwrecks of implicit faith and conformity, which he hath forced, and all the wounds given to those little ones, whom to offend he will find worse one day than that violent drowning mentioned Matt. xviii. 6. Lastly, as a preface to force, it is the usual pretence, that although tender consciences shall be tolerated, yet scandals thereby given shall not be unpunished, profane and licentious men shall not be encouraged to neglect the performance of religious and holy duties by colour of any law giving liberty to tender consciences. By which contrivance the way lies ready open to them hereafter, who may be so minded, to take away by little and little that liberty which Christ and his gospel, not any magistrate, hath right to give: though this kind of his giving be but to give with one hand, and take away with the other, which is a deluding, not a giving. As for scandals, if any man be offended at the conscientious liberty of another, it is a taken scandal, not a given. To heal one conscience, we must not wound another: and men must be exhorted to beware of scandals in Christian liberty not forced by the magistrate; lest while he goes about to take away the scandal, which is uncertain whether given or taken, he take away our liberty, which is the certain and the sacred gift of God, neither to be touched by him, nor to be parted with by us. None more cautious of giving scandal than St. Paul. Yet while he made himself “servant to all,” that he “might gain the more,” he made himself so of his own accord, was not made so by outward force, testifying at the same time that he “was free from all men,” 1 Cor. ix. 19; and thereafter exhorts us also, Gal. v. 13, “Ye were called to liberty, &c., but by love serve one another:” then not by force. As for that fear, lest profane and licentious men should be encouraged to omit the performance of religious and holy duties, how can that care belong to the civil magistrate, espc.

cially to his force? For if profane and licentious persons must not neglect the performance of religious and holy duties, it implies, that such duties they can perform, which no protestant will affirm. They who mean the outward performance, may so explain it; and it will then appear yet more plainly, that such performance of religious and holy duties, especially by profane and licentious persons, is a dishonouring rather than a worshipping of God; and not only by him not required, but detested: Prov. xxi. 27, "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination; how much more when he bringeth it with a wicked mind?" To compel, therefore, the profane to things holy in his profaneness, is all one under the gospel, as to have compelled the unclean to sacrifice in his uncleanness under the law. And I add withal, that to compel the licentious in his licentiousness, and the conscientious against his conscience, comes all to one: tends not to the honour of God, but to the multiplying and the aggravating of sin to them both. We read not that Christ ever exercised force but once, and that was to drive profane ones out of his temple, not to force them in; and if their being there was an offence, we find by many other scriptures that their praying there was an abomination: and yet to the Jewish law, that nation, as a servant, was obliged; but to the gospel each person is left voluntary, called only, as a son, by the preaching of the word; not to be driven in by edicts and force of arms. For if by the apostle, Rom. xii. 1, we are "beseeched as brethren by the mercies of God to present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is our reasonable service," or worship, then is no man to be forced by the compulsive laws of men to present his body a dead sacrifice; and so under the gospel most unholy and unacceptable, because it is his unreasonable service, that is to say, not only unwilling but unconscionable. But if profane and licentious persons may not omit the performance of holy duties, why may they not partake of holy things? Why are they prohibited the Lord's supper, since both the one and the other action may be outward; and outward performance of duty may attain at least an outward participation of benefit? The church denying them that communion of grace and thanksgiving, as it justly doth, why doth the magistrate compel them to the union of performing that which they neither truly can, being them-

selves unholy, and to do seemingly is both hateful to God, and perhaps no less dangerous to perform holy duties irreligiously, than to receive holy signs or sacraments unworthily? All profane and licentious men, so known, can be considered but either so without the church as never yet within it, or departed thence of their own accord, or excommunicate: if never yet within the church, whom the apostle, and so, consequently, the church have nought to do to judge, as he professes, I Cor. v. 12, then by what authority doth the magistrate judge; or, which is worse, compel in relation to the church? If departed of his own accord, like that lost sheep, Luke xv. 4, &c., the true church, either with her own or any borrowed force, worries him not in again, but rather in all charitable manner sends after him; and if she find him, lays him gently on her shoulders, bears him, yea, bears his burdens, his errors, his infirmities any way tolerable, "so fulfilling the law of Christ," Gal. vi. 2. If excommunicate, whom the church hath bid go out, in whose name doth the magistrate compel to go in? The church, indeed, hinders none from hearing in her public congregation, for the doors are open to all: nor excommunicates to destruction; but, as much as it her lies, to a final saving. Her meaning, therefore, must needs be, that as her driving out brings on no outward penalty, so no outward force or penalty of an improper and only a destructive power should drive in again her infectious sheep; therefore sent out because infectious, and not driven in but with the danger not only of the whole and sound, but also of his own utter perishing. Since force neither instructs in religion, nor begets repentance or amendment of life, but, on the contrary, hardness of heart, formality, hypocrisy, and, as I said before, every way increase of sin; more and more alienates the mind from a violent religion, expelling out and compelling in, and reduces it to a condition like that which the Britons complain of in our story, driven to and fro between the Picts and the sea. If, after excommunication, he be found intractable, incurable, and will not hear the church, he becomes as one never yet within her pale, "a heathen or a publican," Matt. xviii. 17, not further to be judged, no, not by the magistrate, unless for civil causes; but left to the final sentence of that Judge, whose coming shall be in flames or fire; that Maranathà, I Cor. xvi. 22, than which to him so

left nothing can be more dreadful, and oftentimes to him particularly nothing more speedy, that is to say, The Lord cometh: in the mean while delivered up to Satan, 1 Cor v. 5, 1 Tim. i. 20, that is, from the fold of Christ and kingdom of grace to the world again, which is the kingdom of Satan; and as he was received "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God," Acts xxvi. 18, so now delivered up again from light to darkness, and from God to the power of Satan; yet so as is in both places manifested, to the intent of saving him, brought sooner to contrition by spiritual than by any corporal severity. But grant it belonging any way to the magistrate, that profane and licentious persons omit not the performance of holy duties, which in them were odious to God even under the law, much more now under the gospel; yet ought his care both as a magistrate and a Christian, to be much more that conscience be not inwardly violated, than that licence in these things be made outwardly conformable: since his part is undoubtedly as a Christian, which puts him upon this office much more than as a magistrate, in all respects to have more care of the conscientious than of the profane; and not for their sakes to take away (while they pretend to give) or to diminish the rightful liberty of religious consciences.

On these four scriptural reasons, as on a firm square, this truth, the right of Christian and evangelic liberty, will stand immovable against all those pretended consequences of licence and confusion, which for the most part men most licentious and confused themselves, or such as whose severity would be wiser than divine wisdom, are ever aptest to object against the ways of God: as if God without them, when he gave us this liberty, knew not of the worst which these men in their arrogance pretend will follow: yet knowing all their worst, he gave us this liberty as by him judged best. As to those magistrates who think it their work to settle religion, and those ministers or others, who so oft call upon them to do so, I trust, that having well considered what hath been here argued, neither they will continue in that intention, nor these in that expectation from them; when they shall find that the settlement of religion belongs only to each particular church by persuasive and spiritual means within itself, and that the defence only of the church belongs to the magistrate. Had

he once learned not further to concern himself with church-affairs, half his labour might be spared, and the commonwealth better tended. To which end, that which I premised in the beginning, and in due place treated of more at large, I desire now concluding, that they would consider seriously what religion is ; and they will find it to be, in sum, both our belief and our practice depending upon God only. That there can be no place then left for the magistrate or his force in the settlement of religion, by appointing either what we shall believe in divine things, or practise in religious, (neither of which things are in the power of man either to perform himself, or to enable others,) I persuade me in the Christian ingenuity of all religious men, the more they examine seriously, the more they will find clearly to be true; and find how false and deviseable that common saying is, which is so much relied upon, that the Christian magistrate is “*Custos utriusque Tabulae,*” Keeper of both Tables, unless is meant by keeper the defender only : neither can that maxim be maintained by any proof or argument, which hath not in this discourse first or last been refuted. For the two tables, or ten commandments, teach our duty to God and our neighbour from the love of both ; give magistrates no authority to force either : they seek that from the judicial law, though on false grounds, especially in the first table, as I have shewn ; and both in first and second execute that authority for the most part, not according to God’s judicial laws, but their own. As for civil crimes, and of the outward man, which all are not, no, not of those against the second table, as that of coveting ; in them what power they have, they had from the beginning, long before Moses or the two tables were in being. And whether they be not now as little in being to be kept by any Christian as they are two legal tables, remains yet as undecided, as it is sure they never were yet delivered to the keeping of any Christian magistrate. But of these things, perhaps, more some other time ; what may serve the present hath been above discoursed sufficiently out of the scriptures : and to those produced, might be added testimonies, examples, experiences, of all succeeding ages to these times, asserting this doctrine : but having herein the scripture so copious and so plain, we have all that can be properly called true strength and nerve ; the rest would be but pomp and encumbrance.

Pomp and ostentation of reading is admired among the vulgar; but doubtless, in matters of religion, he is learnedest who is plainest. The brevity I use, not exceeding a small manual, will not therefore, I suppose, be thought the less considerable, unless with them, perhaps, who think that great books only can determine great matters. I rather choose the common rule, not to make much ado, where less may serve; which in controversies, and those especially of religion, would make them less tedious, and by consequence read oftener by many more, and with more benefit.

END OF VOL. II.



